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VOLUME VI
MAY—AUGUST, 1905

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THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

VOLUME VI. MAY—AUGUST, 1905

INDEX

(Names of Contributors are in Italics)

Note.—References to pages followed by a (ii) are to the latter half of the volume (July and August Nos.).

	PAGE		PAGE
Balfour, Mr., and the Constitution. <i>J. A. Spender</i>	132	Japanese Education. <i>Baron Suyematsu</i> 191 (ii)	
Barnett, Canon. Public Feeding of Children	154	<i>Jenks, Edward</i> . Patriotism and Com-patriotism	96 (ii)
<i>Belloc, Hilaire</i> . On Making Hay	201 (ii)	Labour and Politics. <i>A. Hook</i>	197
" " The Manchurian Cam-paign	78	Labour Party and the General Election, The. <i>Philip Snowden</i>	132 (ii)
<i>Birnbaum, Doris</i> . Chinese Labour in the Transvaal	142	<i>Lathbury, D. C.</i> Liberal Intolerance 147 (ii)	
British Farm Labourer, The. <i>B. Seebohm Rowntree</i>	216	<i>Latter, A. M.</i> The Call of the East	170
Browning and Meredith, The Optimism of. <i>A. C. Pigou</i>	92	League of Health, A. <i>Sir Lauder Brunton</i>	69
<i>Bruce, G. L.</i> London and the Voluntary Schools	163	Liberal Intolerance. <i>D. C. Lathbury</i> 147 (ii)	
<i>Brunton, Sir Lauder</i> . A League of Health	69	London and the Voluntary Schools. <i>G. L. Bruce</i>	163
<i>Bulmer, H. P.</i> Rural England from Within	161 (ii)	Lords, A New Way with the. <i>J. A. Hobson</i>	57 (ii)
<i>Bussy, Simon</i> . Mere Technique : An Answer	56	MacDonnell, Sir Antony, The Case of. <i>Mrs. J. R. Green</i>	12 (ii)
Call of the East, The. <i>A. M. Latter</i>	170	<i>Macnamara, T. J., M.P.</i> The State and Secondary Education	47
Case of Sir Antony MacDonnell, The. <i>Mrs. J. R. Green</i>	12 (ii)	Manchurian Campaign, The. <i>Hilaire Belloc</i>	78
Catholicism and Morals. <i>C. G. Coulton</i>	177	Mere Technique : An Answer. <i>Simon Bussy</i>	56
Chinese Labour in the Transvaal. <i>Doris Birnbaum</i>	142	<i>Moore, T. Sturge</i> . Hail, Pytho ! (Poem) 74 (ii)	
<i>Coulton, C. G.</i> Catholicism and Morals.	177	Newest Philosophy, The. <i>G. Lowes Dickinson</i>	177 (ii)
Crater of Santorin, The. <i>Eleanor Cropper</i>	188	New Way with the Lords, A. <i>J. A. Hobson</i>	57 (ii)
<i>Cropper, Eleanor</i> . The Crater of Santorin	188	Notes on Current Events I, 121, I (ii), 121 (ii)	
<i>Dell, Robert</i> . Separation in France	27 (ii)	On Making Hay. <i>Hilaire Belloc</i>	201 (ii)
<i>Dickinson, G. Lowes</i> . The Newest Philosophy	177 (ii)	Optimism of Browning and Meredith, The. <i>A. C. Pigou</i>	92
Eternal Moment, The. <i>E. M. Forster</i>	206, 86 (ii), 211 (ii)	Optimism and Mr. Meredith : A Reply. <i>G. M. Trevelyan</i>	42 (ii)
<i>E. M. Forster</i> . The Eternal Moment	206, 86 (ii), 211 (ii)	Patriotism and Compatriotism. <i>Edward Jenks</i>	96 (ii)
General Election, The Labour Party and the. <i>Philip Snowden</i>	132 (ii)	Philosophy, The Newest. <i>G. Lowes Dickinson</i>	177 (ii)
<i>Green, Mrs. J. R.</i> The Case of Sir Antony MacDonnell	12 (ii)	<i>Pigou, A. C.</i> The Optimism of Browning and Meredith	92
Hail, Pytho ! (Poem). <i>T. Sturge Moore</i>	74 (ii)	Public Feeding of Children. <i>Canon Barnett</i>	154
<i>Hobson, J. A.</i> A New Way with the Lords	57 (ii)	Rating of Rural Ground Values : A Manifesto	10
Hodge and His Educators. <i>Sir Edmund Verney, Bart.</i>	38	REVIEWS—Books Reviewed :—	
<i>Hook, A.</i> Labour and Politics	197	Essays and Addresses. <i>Herbert Paul</i>	111
		Essays of the Compatriots Club. <i>Edward Jenks</i>	96 (ii)

INDEX

REVIEWS continued:—

	PAGE
Frenzied Finance. <i>G. Lowes Dickinson</i>	115 (ii)
George Canning. <i>G. M. Trevelyan</i>	224 (ii)
Golden Bowl, The. <i>Desmond MacCarthy</i>	105
Law and Public Opinion. <i>W. Jethro Brown</i>	229 (ii)
Life of Reason, The. <i>G. Lowes Dickinson</i>	177 (ii)
Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses. <i>G. M. Trevelyan</i>	231
Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius. <i>N. Wedd</i>	223
J. H. Shorthouse, Life and Letters. <i>C. F. G. Masterman</i>	109 (ii)
The Hill. <i>R. F. Cholmeley</i>	235 (ii)
Rowntree, B. Seebohm. The British Farm Labourer	216
Rural England from Within. <i>H. P. Bulmer</i>	161 (ii)

	PAGE
Separation in France. <i>Robert Dell</i>	27 (ii)
Snowden, Philip. The Labour Party and the General Election.	132 (ii)
So-Called Science of Sociology, The. <i>H. G. Wells</i>	21
Spender, J. A. Mr. Balfour and the Constitution	132
State and Secondary Education, The. <i>T. J. Macnamara, M.P.</i>	47
Suyematsu, Baron. Japanese Education	191 (ii)
Sweden and Norway. <i>A Swedish Patriot</i>	77 (ii)
Transvaal, Chinese Labour in the. <i>Doris Birnbaum</i>	142
Trevelyan, G. M. Optimism and Mr. Meredith: A Reply	42 (ii)
Verney, Sir Edmund, Bart. Hodge and his Educators	38
Wells, H. G. The So-Called Science of Sociology	21

THE
INDEPENDENT
REVIEW

VOL. VI. NO. 20

MAY, 1905

CONTENTS

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

RATING OF RURAL GROUND
VALUES: A MANIFESTO

THE SO-CALLED SCIENCE OF
SOCIOLOGY H. Q. WELLS

HODGE AND HIS EDUCATORS
SIR EDMUND VERNEY, BART.

THE STATE AND SECONDARY
EDUCATION T. J. MACNAMARA, M.P.

MERE TECHNIQUE: A REPLY
SIMON BUSSY

A LEAGUE OF HEALTH
SIR LAUDER BRUNTON

THE MANCHURIAN CAMPAIGN
HILAIRE BELLOC

THE OPTIMISM OF BROWNING
AND MEREDITH A. O. PIGOU

MR. BALFOUR'S *Horæ Subsecivæ*
HERBERT PAUL

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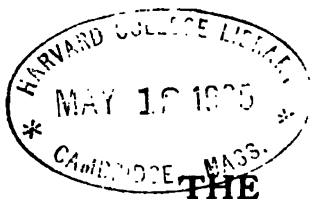
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INDEPENDENT REVIEW

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

PROBABLY within a year, possibly within a few months, a new scene may be opening in England, and Liberal statesmen may be again in possession of the stage. They have not said definitely what is the complete part which they are going to act, and this reserve is wise. But it leaves us all uncertain whether they are going to be Conservative or Reforming. The temptation to be Conservative is thrust upon them by the fact that the quondam-conservative party has become Reactionary. Is the alternative to Reaction going to be Conservatism or Social Reform? In the former case, the conservatized Liberal Party will be content to alter reactionary measures like the Education and Drink legislation of recent years, and the new Judge-made law concerning Trade Unions,—and then to sit passive, appealing to the fear of Tariff Reform: whereas in the latter case, the new government will not only deal with these subjects, as it is already explicitly pledged to do, but it will translate its general sympathies with the masses of the country into definite government measures of Social Reform. Land Reform and Taxation, with a view to better housing in towns (for which a bill has this month been for the second time voted by a majority in this House of Commons), easy methods of compulsory acquisition of small holdings in the country, schemes for dealing with want of employment, more-democratic budgets, the furtherance by public assistance of the innumerable ways by which the

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

intolerable and stunted life of the workman and his family can be improved—these are among the duties of the Liberal Party.

It will be more important to let the country see that the Liberals are real Social Reformers, than it will be to avoid a conflict with the Lords and a general election for five years of what is called "power," while all enthusiasm and hope perish slowly in quagmires of disgust and disillusionment. If the Conservative attitude is adopted, the Liberal Party is lost, and, what is more, Protection is passed and Social Reform is postponed for at least a generation. It is no doubt difficult for the older men, who have borne the burden and heat of a long and thankless day, the present leaders of the Liberal Party, fully to realize the great efforts, the extreme activity, that is expected of the Liberal Party in the immediate future by the younger generation, which consists almost entirely of Social Reformers or Protectionists. There is no third alternative, as will be clear in three years, if it is not clear already. The future does not lie for those who are for leaving things as they are ; it lies either with the Tariff Reform League or else with a well led party of zealous, but practical, Social Reformers. There is a spirit rising in the country ; there are men coming on in the constituencies capable of making another reform era in the coming generation, provided it is not all stifled by want of leadership and want of activity in the next few years. The book recently published by the *Speaker Press*, called *Towards a Social Policy*, is one of many indications that all sections of younger Liberals are taking Social Reform for their watchword and their special object of study. The difference between the older and the younger part of the Liberal Party, between those who put Social Reform first, and those who put it second, is not yet a breach, and will never become so unless affairs are much misdirected. But to be forewarned is to be forearmed.

No less important than the internal affairs of the Liberal

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

Party are its relations to the Labour Party. Perhaps the best security against the Liberals becoming merely Conservative in their opposition to the Reactionaries, is, that they should depend in the next Parliament on alliance with a solid phalanx of thirty or more Labour members. The history of England in the next half century may turn on the relations established between the Labour Party and the Liberals at the next elections, and still more in the next Parliament. By that will be decided in the long run the question of Protection or Free Trade, and the question whether the lot of the working class family is, or is not, to be alleviated by Parliamentary action. We hope that both parties will feel the immense responsibility that lies on them in this matter, and that each will be ready both to give and take. The Labour Party has at last formally established its right to a separate existence, which all Liberals have now either welcomed or accepted. Therefore the old tactics of regarding the Conservative and Liberal Parties as equally hostile will no longer be justifiable, unless the Liberals are found wanting in the matter of Social Reform. The Labour Men, when, after the next Election, they for the first time find themselves a serious voting power in Parliament, will take Parliament seriously, however much they disapprove of its ways, and will realize the necessary limitations of government power in legislation, lest, asking for Utopia, they get Protection. The Liberals, on their side, will see that, unless they are the people's party, the nonconformists are not strong enough to save them from the inveterate hostility of the great bulk of the wealthier classes, who, on normal occasions, hate Liberalism much more than they fear Protection. But it is not primarily in the interest of Liberalism itself, but in the interest of the masses cut off by the economic conditions of great cities and dwindling villages, from nearly all the sources of joy, of knowledge, and of self-cultivation, that we advocate Social Reform as the programme of modern Liberalism.

The failure of Mr. Arnold-Forster has made it evident that Army Reform is to be left as a legacy to the next

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Government. The recent accession of the Tory Army Reformers to the Liberals is therefore a matter of great importance, especially to a party which has hitherto not evolved a sufficiently definite policy. And it is satisfactory that the views of Major Seely, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Guest seem to agree substantially with those of Sir Edward Grey, whose able speech was accepted by the whole party. There are two great factors in the situation. In the first place the preposterous extravagance of the War Office is really coming home to the taxpayer. And, in the further distance, is beginning to loom conscription. There are not yet many politicians who dare mention it with approval. But one member of the Government, Lord Stanley, is an avowed conscriptionist. Outside Parliament the Protectionist Press is beginning to speak more freely. The military correspondent of the Times wrote recently :—" We cannot escape admission of the fact that we may be forced to adopt compulsion in some form in time of war in order to supply the large numbers of men that we shall require to defend India with success." The remarkable part of this passage is that it shows the determination of the conscriptionists to return to the charge, even though completely driven from the ground of their old arguments by the recent declarations of the Premier in the name of the Committee of Defence that invasion is an impossibility. For home defence, therefore, a conscript army cannot be wanted. But a conscript army the military school intends to have, if not for one reason, then for another.

Conscription can only be permanently avoided in one of two ways, either by proving to the country that there is no danger which will warrant the necessity of more than a quite moderate army, or by providing the elements of a very large force of patriotic volunteers, capable of being organized for a great even though unlikely emergency. Mr. Arnold-Forster does neither of these things. Sir Edward Grey summarized the position when he said :—" The Secretary of State for War tells us we cannot have economy unless we reduce something which costs money,

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

and that something must be numbers of men. Then he says it is unpatriotic to reduce the Regular army. So that cannot be done. . . . The one thing he assures the House he can succeed in doing is to reduce the Volunteers. There I take issue with him on a matter of policy." The central feature of Liberal policy must be the encouragement of voluntary patriotic service, and instead of the 160,000 volunteers which Mr. Arnold-Forster wishes to substitute for 200,000, we need an increase of 400,000. For the ultimate and greater needs of national emergency we could well spare 5 millions of our expenditure on the army, and devote one of those millions to making volunteering cheap and attractive, and the other four to social progress and remission of taxation on the poor. Why so little has been done to provide shooting-ranges, after the strong national movement in favour of such provision consequent on the South African War, is a puzzle which can only be completely solved by an appreciation of the dislike with which the volunteers are regarded in some War Office circles.

i

Last month we expressed the opinion that the accounts for the year were likely after all to balance, but that the optimists were doomed to disappointment, for the Chancellor of the Exchequer would only have a paltry surplus to dispose of when he budgeted for the year 1905-6. These anticipations of ours were exactly realised. By aid of the income tax collector's screw Mr. Chamberlain, in spite of deficiency in customs and excise, got very nearly the revenue he bargained for. At the same time the expenditure fell short by nearly a million; and the result was a realised surplus of £1,414,000, which sum has been applied to making good part of last year's deficiency. For the present year, after cautiously allowing for a further falling off in the revenue from customs and excise, Mr. Chamberlain anticipates a surplus of just under 3 millions. A million he diverts very properly to the reduction of the unfunded debt, which now stands at the dangerously high figure of 75½ millions. But in increasing the sinking fund he still

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

adds to the debt for capital account by a still larger amount ! He has removed some trifling, but vexatious, imposts collected by the revenue officials. The sum of just under 2 millions, which remained to be disposed of, has been employed in reducing the tea duties by the amount (2*d.*) which Mr. Chamberlain added last year. This remission, however, does not take effect till July, so that the cost of the concession will be only about £1,550,000 in the current financial year. There is left, therefore, a prospective surplus, or margin to meet contingencies, of rather less than half a million. The general effect of the financial statement is depressing enough. As Mr. Whitley remarked in the House of Commons, any one satisfied with this budget must be very easily satisfied. The long suffering taxpayer has to be contented with very small mercies. There remains upon his shoulders the great bulk of the taxation imposed during the war—fourpence on the Income Tax, twopence a pound on tea, the new sugar duty, which is really a duty upon a manufacture, as well as upon one of the necessary comforts of life, and the coal duty—to say nothing of additional charges upon wine, beer, spirits and tobacco. We do not recollect any important war of similar length which left anything like so grievous a heritage of debt and taxation. For this we have to thank wasteful and incompetent finance.

It is to be hoped that the appeal for subscriptions to endow a fellowship fund at Newnham College, Cambridge, will meet with a generous response. The Higher Education of Women has long passed the probationary stage, and the Women's Colleges now rank among the most vigorous institutions at Oxford and at Cambridge : indeed, this educational level is considerably above the average of the Men's Colleges. With the exception of King's, Newnham and Girton are unique at Cambridge in only admitting students who are candidates for honours. Their social life is simple, healthy and stirring, their cult of athletics, though keen, is tempered by a sense of proportion, and the long list of their Academic distinctions proves that they combine

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

a high standard of hard work with the solid and physical advantages of Collegiate life. Nor is their influence confined to the comparatively small circle of academically educated women ; it affects the whole life of women throughout the country and the Empire. The great improvement in girls' schools that has taken place of recent years can be traced directly to the Women's Colleges : the marked tendency of women at the present day to acquire the masculine virtues without losing their own womanliness, the great broadening of their intellectual interests, their acuter sense of responsibility and public duty, and their growing capacity and desire to serve the community, these are amongst the most hopeful characteristics of the age, and all of them receive support and stimulus from the band of women that leaves the Universities each year, not only highly trained intellectually, but possessing those qualities of character which are engendered by College life in women equally with men, and are as invaluable in the one sex as in the other.

But though Newnham has taken her full share in this work, though her average of successes in the schools can compare favourably with that of any College, though in her thirty years of existence she has sent out some 1,400 women well equipped to bear their part in the work of the world, as schoolmistresses, physicians, sanitary inspectors, school managers, members of County Council Education Committees, and so on, it is still true that Newnham does not fulfil the complete functions of a first-rate College. A College exists to promote education, learning and research ; the member of a College staff must not merely impart knowledge to his pupils, he must be continually increasing his own knowledge, and must keep abreast of all new discoveries in his special department ; otherwise his methods will grow stereotyped, his mind stagnant, and his information obsolete : and further than this, he must not only make himself acquainted with the discoveries of others, he should also aim at making discoveries himself : the highest duty of a College is to promote the advancement of learning by research. This highest duty, Newnham has not yet adequately

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

fulfilled. The reason for its failure is to be found in its want of endowments. All the Men's Colleges are endowed ; otherwise they would be unable even to support a competent staff of teachers : if they depended on the students' fees alone, they would be unable to pay their teachers more than £200 or £300 a year, with no prospect of a pension, and for such a salary they could not secure the services of men of first-rate ability. As it is, their endowments enable them to give the members of their teaching staff a Fellowship of about £250, and to supplement by grants out of the corporate funds the stipends derived from the tuition fees.

Newnham, unfortunately, is in no such position ; her sole source of income consists of the students' fees, and these fees are extremely low. One hundred pounds a year from each student covers all the expenses of board, lodging and tuition, defrays the cost of maintaining the grounds and buildings, and pays the interest on the debt, consequently the payment to the educational staff is very small. The stipends vary with the amount of teaching given by each lecturer, and to secure the most modest competence the lecturer must undertake an amount of work which leaves him no leisure for prolonged research. It is to remedy this defect that the Council of the College are now appealing for funds, and their intention is to endow one or more fellowships of £100 a year, tenable for three years, but capable of prolongation in special cases. The holders of these fellowships will be required to devote their best energies to research : under ordinary circumstances they will be required to reside in the College, and they will have to obtain special permission if they wish to engage in any teaching work. There is every reason to believe that the scheme, if sufficient funds can be found, will produce good results. During the last four years, a temporary and tentative scheme, similar to that which it is now proposed to endow permanently, has been maintained in the College by private benefactions, and the output of original work fully justifies the present appeal to the public. A College which

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

has shown itself able, with such slender and precarious resources, to produce, in so short a time, such valuable and varied contributions to knowledge as Miss Jane Harrison's Introduction to Greek Religion, Miss Mary Bateson's investigations into mediæval law and custom, Miss Panes's researches in early English, and the work of Miss Elles in Geology and of Miss Matthæi in Botany, may be confidently trusted to use any endowments it may acquire to the best advantage in the cause of learning.

A MANIFESTO ON THE TAXATION OF RURAL LAND VALUES

[WE are permitted to print the text of a manifesto, on the important subject of the Taxation of Land Values, which is being privately circulated amongst Liberal Members of Parliament, as an alternative Liberal policy to the renewal of the Agricultural Rates Act during the present session. By our arrangements with the promoters of the manifesto, the reproduction of the document from our pages cannot be permitted without special leave of the Editor.]

Land Reform will evidently be one of the first duties of a Liberal Government. The precise form it shall take, the extent to which industry shall be immediately relieved by shifting local burdens on to the unimproved value of land, is largely a matter of political expediency. But it is important for reformers to guard against the assumption that the limited schemes to which even a Conservative Parliament has given its grudging approval ought to be the maximum demand of a Parliament returned to inaugurate an era of active social reform.

The steady movement in favour of taxation of land values has hitherto taken political shape only as a proposal to rate site values in urban districts. The famous Minority Report on Site Values, presented by five of the most distinguished members of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, dealt only with urban rating—though it probably did more to place that aspect of the question on a scientific basis than all previous efforts; and the Bills introduced in the House of Commons during the last four sessions have been similarly in limited scope. The carrying of the second

THE TAXATION OF RURAL LAND VALUES

reading of Mr. Charles Trevelyan's Bill by a majority of 67 in 1904, and of 90 in 1905 has given weighty emphasis to the position taken by the minority report ; but it did not carry the proposal beyond urban areas.

But there is no magic in the imaginary lines which (on maps) divide urban from rural districts, according to the Public Health Act. The laws of political economy—for those who believe in them—apply with equal force on each side of these boundaries. Examine a map of London and its environs, on which urban districts are coloured red, and rural districts green. To the eye the distribution of colour seems rather erratic. Why Totteridge, Mitcham, and Crayford should be green, while other districts further out, such as Enfield, Carshalton, and Dartford, are distinguished by the urban red, is not one of those conclusions which strike the mind as obvious. Nor can there be any practical reason why local taxation should not be governed by the same general rules in all the districts just enumerated.

One of the strongest arguments adduced in recent years for the taxation of land values has been, that it would facilitate building on the outskirts of towns, and so prove a powerful aid to the solution of the housing problem. The gradual substitution of site value for rateable value as the basis of rating would, no doubt, relieve outlying districts, of low land value, from a considerable part of the burden, and—the relief being in respect of structural value—the building of houses would receive a great impetus in such districts. At the same time, the pressure of the site-value rate would tend to bring more land into the market, and at cheaper prices ; so that two influences would be at work simultaneously in the direction of improving the provision of house accommodation and lowering the standard of house rent. But, in the ultimate resort, this argument depends for its cogency upon the taxation of *all* land values. For, if rateable value becomes the basis of rating directly the boundary of a rural district is reached, the operation of these two influences will be arrested. In the rural district itself they will have no force whatever ; while within the urban boundary their effect will be minimised by the fact that, when building has advanced to that line, no further land will be available under

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the same conditions of taxation. Once the regular addition to the supply of houses is stopped in this way, while the demand continues to grow at the usual rate, the standard of house rent will again increase as the result of keener competition; and one of the benefits expected from the taxation of land values will, in such circumstances, be minimised, if not entirely neutralised.

Any definite attempt to differentiate between urban and rural districts on the basis of local taxation would, moreover, give rise to very serious difficulties. And the very nature of these difficulties makes it certain that they would not pass with the period of transition. While the change from rateable value to site value was in progress in the urban districts, there would remain in existence a basis of taxation common both to them and the rural districts. But no one seriously supposes that such a condition is to continue indefinitely. The simple valuation, the certainty in collection, and the equity in distribution of a rate levied on site values must, in the long run, operate in such a way as altogether to displace rateable value as the measure of taxation in urban areas. Then will arise a many-headed dilemma. The Guardians of many Unions, and the Council of every administrative county, will no longer have a common basis for the rates which it is their duty to levy equally over urban and rural areas. The common expenses of the Union, now apportioned between its constituent parishes according to their rateable values, will lack a basis for distribution wherever the Union contains urban and rural parishes.

During a period of transition, and with the goal of saving simplicity in sight, such difficulties may be cheerfully met and overcome. To render them chronic is to add a fresh burden to backs already strained by the present unnecessary complications in our system of local taxation. Is rateable value to be kept alive, and all the heavy expense of estimating it to be incurred in urban districts, merely to provide a common measure between them and the rural districts? Such a proposition does not bear examination. *A common measure of local taxation is necessary; but the simplest and surest is the unimproved value of land.*

The question of Imperial taxation is also closely

THE TAXATION OF RURAL LAND VALUES

involved. Property Tax, Inhabited House Duty, and Land Tax, though not levied upon rateable value as legally defined, are charged according to a rental value which differs but slightly from it, either in amount or in the principle upon which it is calculated. Indeed, they are so closely akin, that the two valuations are generally prepared together ; in London one valuation list is made to serve the purposes of both, and this procedure would have been extended to the whole country if the Valuation Bill of 1904 had passed. The abolition of all the existing machinery for ascertaining rateable value in urban districts would, therefore, deprive the Board of Inland Revenue of most valuable assistance now derived from assessment committees. The result would, no doubt, be to add considerably to the cost of the valuation required as the basis of these or some other Imperial taxes on real property.

But is the National Exchequer to be deprived of the means of levying taxation according to a basis which, *ex hypothesi*, will be more equitable than that now in vogue ? Again the proposition is too extreme for a practical politician. New Zealand, New South Wales, South Australia, and Queensland, levy Colonial State taxes on the land value basis ; in New Zealand and Queensland local rates are also measured by it. There seems no reason, either in theory or in practice, why part of the national revenue should not be raised on the same basis as the local revenue.

The Agricultural Rates Act will expire on the 31st March, 1906, or if renewed in 1910 ; and the coming Liberal Government will have to face the issue which will then be raised. That any proposal for the renewal of the Act should be made by the Liberal Party is unthinkable. On the other hand, the need of rural districts for relief is no less pronounced than the corresponding need of urban districts ; and the grants now made under the Act, illogical and inequitable as they are, cannot well be abolished, unless their abolition is accompanied by a scientific readjustment of the burdens of local taxation in those areas.

The taxation of land values is the true basis on which any such readjustment must proceed. It will do for the

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

agricultural industry all that the Agricultural Rates Act proposed *and failed* to do. Just as, in urban districts, it is admitted that the taxation of land values will tend to the equalisation of burdens, to the solution of the housing problem, and to the general development and prosperity of the town, so in rural districts will it tend to produce a levelling of local rates, to facilitate the erection of healthy labourers' cottages, and to remove the shackles from agricultural enterprise.

In view of all these considerations, it is not too much to say, that the need for the taxation of land values in rural districts is every whit as pressing as the need for taxing them in urban districts. We must have a uniform basis for local taxation. We must assess land values in such a way that their assessment will serve as a basis for Imperial taxation as well as local. Above all, we must not run the risk of neutralising the effect of the reform in urban districts, by limiting it to those areas. And finally, we must deal with the situation created by the expiry of the Agricultural Rates Act. The simplest measure is usually the greatest and most satisfactory ; and a Bill with the avowed object of ultimately substituting land value for rateable value, as the basis of all taxation of real property, would be more easily justified, more readily explained, and more widely accepted than any partial measure—introducing, as it must, a series of unnecessary complications.

The truth of the matter is, that the adoption of land value as the basis of local taxation will practically be a reversion to the practice of our forefathers. In the days when local rates were levied only for the relief of the poor, the bulk of the charge was always borne by land values. In 1801 lands (including tithes) formed five-sixths of the annual value of property assessed to Income Tax, Schedule A. In 1900 it represented only a proportion of one-fifth. This revolutionary change in proportion is due to the enormous growth of buildings during that period. At the beginning of the century "houses" (a generic term employed in the taxation returns to denote buildings of all kinds) only accounted for about six millions of the Schedule A assessments, whereas at the end of the century they stood for over

THE TAXATION OF RURAL LAND VALUES

153 millions. The result has been an automatic shifting of what may be called the "centre of gravity" of local taxation; and, while the bulk of the burden was borne by land a hundred years ago, buildings and improvements now have the lion's share of it.

The effects of this change have been more far-reaching than appears at first sight. The figures of Property Tax assessment are, of course, not strictly divided between land on the one hand and buildings and improvements on the other. The word "lands" in the returns, no doubt includes a good deal of agricultural improvement value in the rural districts. On the other hand, the word "houses" indubitably covers the values of the sites of the buildings referred to; so that, making allowance for both these points, the figures do form an approximate indication of the difference between land values and improvement values generally. From the fact that, at the commencement of the century, lands formed five-sixths of the total, two conclusions are obvious. In the first place, land value bore the bulk of the burden of local rates; secondly (and of greater importance), this part of the burden was distributed according to the "land values" proportion. But, at the end of the century, "lands" were no longer the dominant item of assessment, "houses" represented four-fifths. Thus the location of the bulk of the burden was not only entirely changed, but its distribution (the more important point) had become infinitely complicated by the mixing up of buildings and other improvements in one assessment with land. The additions of these elements may, in some cases, add little or nothing to the land value, while in others they may increase it twenty-fold. These alterations of proportion are so stupendous as to amount to a change in the centre of gravity of local taxation. To this change in the basis of distribution may be traced all the inequalities of burden, against which both urban and rural ratepayers protest, conscious of the injustice, but ignorant of its cause.

Overwhelming as are the indications in favour of a uniform system of local taxation throughout the country, it would not be fair, either to the rural districts or to the great agricultural industry carried on in them, to dismiss

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the subject without some examination of the probable effect of the adoption of land value as the invariable basis of local taxation. Let us, therefore, enquire, for a moment, into the present position of the agricultural industry in relation to rating, and see how it would be affected by the substitution of land value for rateable value.

Take the case of a farm of two hundred acres, held at a rent of £300 per annum, two-thirds of which represents agricultural land as defined by the Agricultural Rates Act. The "gross estimated rental" will then be £200 agricultural land, and £100 buildings, and the rateable values £180 and £84 respectively. Those figures presuppose a good landlord, willing to make and maintain the necessary buildings and other permanent improvements, and an industrious farmer, practising the best tilth and husbandry. Assuming rates at four shillings in the pound, the annual charge on assessable value (£90 plus £84) would be £34 16s. od., or perhaps a little less after allowing for the fact that land is only chargeable with one-third of the usual lighting rate. But every outlay upon the improvement of the land, whether made by landlord or farmer, would increase *pro tanto* the assessable value of £90, while expenditure upon buildings would increase the rateable value of £84 at double the rate; and the result in both cases would be to raise the amount payable for rates.

Under a system of local taxation according to land values, all this would be changed. The rateable value of £84 on buildings would be altogether exempt, and the £180 assessment of agricultural land would be reduced. The land value, as defined by the Agricultural Rates Act, includes all the improvements, such as fences, drains, ditches, manures, &c.; and these must be excluded before arriving at the pure land value upon which the new rate is proposed to be levied. Let this pure land value, then, be put at £120. Now comes the question of the rate in the pound required to raise the equivalent of the sums now levied on assessable value. This must obviously vary according to the quantity and value of buildings in the union. Where a comparatively large building value is relieved from charge, the rate in the pound must be considerably increased; where there is little building value to relieve, the increase in the rate would be less.

THE TAXATION OF RURAL LAND VALUES

In this case, five shillings in the pound may be taken for the purpose of illustration ; and this would give an annual charge of £30.

Compare this with a farm of similar extent and situation under a landlord without the necessary funds to make and maintain buildings, and a farmer whose capacity and energy leave a good deal to be desired. Neglected buildings, fences, ditches and drainage bring with them—under the present system—reduced rent and reduced assessment. The 200 acres fetch £240 per annum instead of £300—£180 agricultural land and £60 buildings. The rateable values will then be £162 and £50 respectively, and the assessable value $£81 + £50 = £131$. On this the rates (again at four shillings in the pound) are £26 4s. od., or £8 12s. od. less than the charge on the good farm. This is how our rating system, as amended by the Agricultural Rates Act, encourages agricultural enterprise. Under the land value system, both farms, being of the same “pure” land value, would be assessed alike at £120 ; and the rates would amount to £30 in each case. The improving landlord and industrious farmer would not be fined by an increase of rates upon the results of their enterprise ; and the bad landlord and inefficient farmer would no longer escape part of the rate-burden by virtue of their neglect.

One of the most important points in this connection is the bearing of the proposed new system upon farms where the depression is so great that the rents do not even yield a fair interest upon the amount of capital sunk in improvements. In these cases it is obvious that there is *no* pure land value ; and, therefore, such farms would be wholly exempt from charge. Thus the greatest possible relief would be given where the greatest need exists.

Perhaps the most valuable result to the community at large would be the using of all usable land. At present, the burden of rates is sufficient in some counties, where agricultural depression is of long standing, to render the cultivation of some farms unprofitable. As we have seen, the pure land value of such farms is nothing, or less than nothing ; and they should, therefore, not bear any share of local taxation. But the present system of assessment, by includ-

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

ing farm buildings and other improvements, creates even in such cases a rateable value upon which rates have to be paid if the farm is occupied. The removal of this liability would probably bring back to cultivation a large number of farms at present derelict, and provide a powerful incentive to better husbandry all round.

In country villages, it is most probable there would be a distinct reduction in the amounts payable for rates. For the present rateable values are made up far more of building value than land value ; and the exclusion of the former would, it is obvious, reduce the basis of assessment considerably more, in proportion, than the rate in the pound would rise. The village inn might be an exception, as its land value is so much enhanced by the licence, that it would in most cases be as much as, or even greater than, its building value.

But the taxation of land values would not, *ipso facto*, reduce the amounts required to be raised in rural districts ; and its adoption cannot be urged upon any such plea. It would bring about in agricultural districts, as in towns, a local readjustment of burdens, the effect of which would be to encourage improvements and good husbandry, where the present system hampers and hinders them. The reduction which ought undoubtedly to be made in these rural burdens must be looked for in another direction. The cost of education and poor relief stand for more than half these burdens ; and both services are entirely national in character, although to some extent locally administered. A large increase in the State contribution towards the cost of these services, coupled with the taxation of land values, would place the agricultural industry beyond the possibility of a grievance on the score of local taxation.

The housing of the poor in rural districts, though it affects a smaller population than in towns, is a cause for at least as great anxiety. The strength of the country rests on the health and integrity of its people ; and health and integrity are almost impossible in insanitary and inadequate homes. The erection of new and sanitary cottages is not always viewed with favour by local authorities, though it never fails to add to the revenue they derive from rates.

THE TAXATION OF RURAL LAND VALUES

But the practical removal of local taxation from cottages would at least go some way to counteract even the by-laws of the Chailey Rural District Council.

No doubt the usual stock objections will be advanced, and it may be useful to anticipate and deal briefly with the most probable. The Minority Report of the Royal Commission effectually disposed of the allegation that land values would be extremely difficult and costly to assess, so far as urban areas were concerned. As a matter of fact, no assessment of real property can be simpler than that which includes one item only. This, however, is not likely to prevent a repetition of the objection in the case of rural land. It will be pointed out, that farms are let and otherwise dealt with as a whole, land and improvements being included in one rent, and that the separation of the two will be difficult, if not impossible, and in any case very costly. The answer to this contention may be derived from colonial precedents, and to some extent from practices in vogue under the existing law in this country. All agricultural land is now separately valued under the Agricultural Rates Act. It may be said that this valuation excludes buildings only and not other improvements, such as drainage, manuring, etc. These have, for years past, been separately estimated under the Agricultural Holdings Acts, so that their elimination would be quite practicable, if it were necessary to value by way of exclusion. The scientific method of valuation would be by comparison with other land in the district, the necessary material for such a comparison being derived from the more recent lettings.

Another point likely to be taken is, that the Land Question in rural districts presents a totally different complexion to that seen in towns; that in place of a general increment of urban land value, agricultural land values are and have been for some time declining, and that, therefore, their taxation will not raise sufficient income for local authorities. No doubt a Rural District Council whose area was purely agricultural would find itself compelled to levy a somewhat high rate in the pound. But no rural district is composed of farms alone; and the levy of the tax upon *all* land, whether occupied or not, would make a considerable difference to its

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

yield, as compared with a rate from which all unoccupied property is free. Nor must it be forgotten, that many rural parishes obtain considerable sums from the rating of railways passing through their area. The alteration in the basis of assessment would probably not relieve railways to the same extent as farm land. At the present time, railways are not assessed on the structural value of their lines, except so far as the stations are concerned, the structures of which would undoubtedly be exempt. But it makes no difference in assessment at the present time whether a railway is carried on the level, on a high embankment, through a deep cutting, or in tunnel. Its rateable value in every case is determined by its earning capacity, the bulk of which consists in its exclusive right to carry traffic over a certain strip of land—in other words, land value.

It will, no doubt, be claimed, that the tax will be levied practically on one class only, and that such a proceeding is especially inequitable in rural districts. There is a very short answer to this. Land value in rural districts depends entirely on the demand for land. Without the farmers and labourers, land-owners would derive no income from it at all. The presence of the whole of the community creates land value, and that community is entitled to so much of it as is needed for common expenses. Nor must it be forgotten, that no one is a land-owner pure and simple. So far as his property consists of buildings and improvements, the landlord will be relieved from existing burdens; and not only so, but his future expenditure of capital upon improvements will be unhindered by taxation.

THE SO-CALLED SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

NOTHING is so profitable as failure ; all intellectual progress is the reception of the unexpected, that is to say the abandonment of the original position ; and there is no need to apologise to intelligent people for first assisting in good faith in the foundation of a Society for the study of the science of Sociology, and then admitting that, in the common acceptance of the word 'science,' the subject is not a science at all. The Society is none the less useful on that account. It has existed a year, it has gathered together into the most inconsecutive discussions possible personalities that, according to one's mood, one may speak of as either incongruous or representative, and it has now published a volume of papers embodying these discussions.¹ This volume has many facets ; it presents Mr. Ebenezer Howard still delightfully unaware of modern means of locomotion, and Mr. Francis Galton still gallantly ignoring the initial difficulties in the way of Eugenics, still accumulating such valuable items for a projected "Golden Book of Thriving Families," as that *fa fa* Smith was private secretary to so and so, and *me fa* Smith was an 'orientalist' and—very significantly—'resident at Poona,' that *bro* Smith wrote a book about Sennacherib, and *me si* Smith was a 'centre' of literary and political society ; it includes a useful paper on domestic economics after the Rowntree-Booth pattern by Mr. Harold H. Mann, and some entertaining anthropological gossip by Dr. Westermarck ; but the main substance and altogether the most suggestive portion is devoted to the

¹ *Sociological Papers.* London : Macmillan and Co., 1904.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

prevalent anxiety of its members as to what as a matter of fact sociology is, and more particularly where it comes in. They express a collective unrest in this direction that awakens and stimulates, and, from a disposition to regard and condemn this solicitude as Academic, the reader passes insensibly to sympathetic enquiry.

Sociology is evidently one of those large vague words to which everybody attaches a meaning nobody can express. We owe the word, I believe, to Comte, a man of exceptionally methodical quality ; and he developed the word logically from an arbitrary assumption that the whole universe of being was reducible to measurable and commensurable and exact and consistent expressions. But, as I propose to say very distinctly in this paper, that conception is not innate in everyone ; and a part of the difficulty this conference of the Sociological Society has found lies, I believe, in that incompatibility, which has not as yet been clearly defined, between such hard logical minds as Comte's and the ampler, if more confused, normal human intelligence which reflects human experience.

In a very obvious way, Sociology seemed to Comte to crown the edifice of the sciences ; it was to be to the statesman what pathology and physiology were to the doctor ; and one gathers that, for the most part, he regarded it as an intellectual procedure in no way differing from physics. His classification of the sciences shows pretty clearly that he thought of them all as exact logical systematizations of fact arising out of each other in a synthetic order, each lower one containing the elements of a lucid explanation of those above it—physics explaining chemistry, chemistry, physiology, physiology, sociology, and so forth. His actual method, as I shall point out, was altogether unscientific ; but, through all his work, runs the assumption that in contrast with his predecessors and inferiors, he is really being as exact, and universally valid as mathematics. To Herbert Spencer—very appropriately, since his curiously hard, self-centred mind, his incurable social and emotional inexperience, and his great intellectual enterprise, make him the English parallel to Comte—we owe the naturalization of the word in English.

THE SO-CALLED SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

His mind, though closely similar in form and quality to Comte's, was of altogether greater calibre; and the subject acquired in his hands a far more progressive character than the pedantic and sterile deductive system it finally assumed in Comte's. Herbert Spencer was less unfamiliar with natural history than with any other branch of practical scientific work; and, having concluded that Sociology crowned the biological sciences, it was natural he should turn to this more established branch of biology for precedents in research. His mind was invaded by the idea of classification, by memories of specimens and museums; and he initiated that accumulation of desiccated anthropological anecdotes that still figures importantly in current sociological work.

From these two sources mainly the work of contemporary sociologists derives. But there persists about it a curious discursiveness that reflects upon the power and value of the initial impetus. Mr. V. V. Branford, the able secretary of the society, attempts a useful work in a classification of the methods of what he calls "approach," a word that seems to me eminently judicious and expressive. There is clearly a pervasive doubt whether there is any real approach being achieved, and a review of the volume in hand, a consideration of the writers who participate and the names that are mentioned, brings home to one the aptness of this image of exploratory operations, of experiments in 'taking a line.' The name of Dr. Beattie Crozier for example, recalls an image of a voluminous (in three volumes and still incomplete) essay on *History of Intellectual Development*, of Mr. Benjamin Kidd, of a *Principles of Western Civilization*, profoundly biological in tone, which, in spite of occasional gleams of suggestion, in spite of their dignified bulk, impress one finally as large scale sketches of a proposed science rather than concrete beginnings and achievements. No one will ever build on these writers one feels; new men must begin again on the still vacant site. The search for an arrangement, a 'method' continues as though they were not. The desperate resort to the analogical method of old Comenius is confessed by Dr. Steinmetz, who, as one having to lecture on sociology, is rather in the position of Mr. Karl Baedeker

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

scheming a tour through chaos. He talks of social morphology, physiology, pathology, and so forth. The obsession of the biological analogy is indeed very strong in, as Mr. Branford says, "suggesting a parallel schematization and nomenclature of sociological specializations." But there is also a less imitative disposition in the Vicomte Combe de Lestrade, for example, who describes sociology as the "collective psychology of a community" (not defined) and in the work of Professor Giddings. In other directions sociological work is apt to lose its general reference altogether, to lapse towards some department of activity not primarily sociological at all. The important studies Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb have in hand, for example, are essentially history, and in their *Industrial Democracy* they were contemporary chroniclers who elucidated certain general economic principles. The form of an entire sociology is not even implied in their work, and equally is this the case with M. Ostrogorski's richly suggestive study of democratic institutions. Such a book as that of M. Gustave le Bon upon the mind of crowds, again, is really an extension of observation into a neglected field of psychology. From a contemplation of all this diversity, a diversity that has no air of becoming convergent, Professor Durkheim emerges, still unsatisfied, demanding a "synthetic science," "certain synthetic conceptions"—and Professor Karl Pearson endorses the demand—to fuse all these various activities into something that will live and grow. In effect, though in quite other words, he says that sociology is still no more than a magazine cover, holding together many interests, but adding nothing.

The contemplative observer who evaded this debate, who is tied to no utterance or formula, may perhaps be the better able to take a comprehensive view of the matter under discussion. What is it that tangles this question so curiously that there is not only a failure to arrive at a conclusion, but a failure to join issue? Why are the half hundred or so leading sociological intelligences upon earth oscillating round this reasonable demand for a nexus, without any real attempt to formulate a solution?

Now there is a certain, not too clearly recognized, order

THE SO-CALLED SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

in the sciences, to which I propose to call attention, and which I believe goes far to explain the peculiar difficulty that sociology has so far failed to strangle in its cradle. Certain pre-natal influences, certain unsound assumptions, are at work. There is a gradation in the importance of the individual instance as one passes from mechanics and physics and chemistry, through the biological sciences to economics and sociology, a gradation that has not yet received adequate recognition, and that should profoundly affect the method of study and research in each science. It is masked by the indifferent quality of the logic of common discussion, which ignores the conventionality in the general application of general terms. I believe that to go back into metaphysics, into that field Comte and Herbert Spencer so scornfully refused to enter, is the way to get round the tangle which at present condemns sociology in its totality to futility.

Let me begin by pointing out that, in the more modern conceptions of logic,¹ it is recognised that there are no identically similar objective experiences ; the disposition is to conceive all real objective being as individual and unique. The metaphysical analysis that played so large a part in Greek discussion, and which was submerged in the wranglings of barbaric and oriental theologians after the loss of Greek independence, has now at last been resumed, and the meanings of number and genera and species, the subject matter of metaphysics, considered afresh. We begin to escape from Aristotle's settlement of these things upon the lines of obvious common sense. It is now understood that conceivably only in the subjective world, and in theory and the imagination, do we deal with identically similar units, and with absolutely commensurable quantities.² In the real world it is reasonable to suppose we deal at most with *practically* similar units and *practically* commensurable quantities. But there is a strong bias, a sort of labour-

¹ See for example Mr. Alfred Sidgwick's *Use of Words in Reasoning*.

² This idea was actually brought before the Society by the chairman of the meeting, Professor Bosanquet : "from the point of view of logic, classification was not a primary form of thought." But no one seems to have caught his drift ; and he did not pursue the idea in the direction taken by this paper.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

saving bias in the common man's mind, in the normal human mind, to ignore this and not only to speak but to think of a thousand bricks or a thousand sheep or a thousand sociologists as though they were all absolutely true to sample. If it is brought before a thinker for a moment that in any special case this is not so, he slips back to the old attitude as soon as his attention is withdrawn. A man needs to be specially educated and trained upon this consideration to keep his thoughts moving in the series of gestures it determines, to escape the direction of this deep-worn fallacy of common-sense ; and at present no men are so trained. This source of error has, for instance, caught nearly the whole race of chemists, with one or two distinguished exceptions, and *atoms* and *ions* and so forth, of the same species, are tacitly assumed to be absolutely similar one to another. As a matter of fact, whatever realities correspond to atoms and such like metaphysical inventions, may have as much individuality, presumably have as much individuality as, let us say, sheep in one flock. Be it noted that, so far as the practical results of chemistry and physics go, it scarcely matters which assumption we adopt. For purposes of enquiry and discussion, the incorrect one is infinitely more convenient. In the minutest experiment possible, so vast a multitude of units, molecules, atoms, or what not, are taken, that all individuality is merged in an average result. We can afford to ignore, and find a great practical advantage in ignoring, individuality altogether in these primary sciences.

But this ceases to be true directly we emerge from the region of chemistry and physics. In the biological sciences of the eighteenth century, common-sense struggled hard to ignore individuality in shells and plants and animals. There was an attempt to eliminate the more conspicuous departures as abnormalities, as sports, Nature's weak moments, to treat individuality as an aspect of original sin, a defect consequent upon that universal lapse from type that followed the Fall, to assume that whatever was true of one specimen was true of the whole species ; and it was only with the establishment of Darwin's great generalizations, that the hard and fast classificatory scheme broke down, and in-

THE SO-CALLED SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

dividuality came to its own. Yet there had always been a clearly felt difference between the conclusions of the biological sciences and those dealing with lifeless substance, in the relative vagueness, the insubordinate looseness and inaccuracy of the former. The naturalist accumulated facts and multiplied names, but he did not go from generalization to generalization as the chemist or physicist ;—something prevented that. Hardly ever did he emerge with anything but a scrap of information picked up, a new animal found by an explorer. Were it not for geographical discovery, zoology and botany would have been seen to have been marking time for three centuries, adding simply to the mass of their undigested lore, while chemistry and physics went on from strength to strength, elucidating, verifying, producing astonishing inventions, working miracles in a way to convince every thoughtless man. Even the triumphs of modern medicine have been—outside bacteriology, mere applications of chemical science to surgery. It is easy to see, therefore, how it came about that the inorganic sciences were regarded as the true scientific bed-rock. It was scarcely suspected that the biological sciences might perhaps, after all, be *truer* than the experimental, in spite of the difference in practical value in favour of the latter. It was, and is by the great majority of people to this day, supposed to be the latter that are invincibly true ; and the former are regarded as perverse indeed, but not hopelessly obdurate, a more complex set of problems merely, with obliquities and refractions that presently would be explained away. Comte and Herbert Spencer certainly took that much for granted.

Yet it is quite possible to hold, and there is a growing body of people who are beginning to hold, the converse view—that counting, classification, measurement, the whole fabric of mathematics, is subjective and deceitful, and that the uniqueness of individuals is the objective truth. As the number of units taken diminishes, the amount of variability increases, because individuality tells more and more. Chemistry and physics give results more in harmony with mathematical assumption than, for example, bacteriology, bacteriology than mineralogy, mineralogy than Mr.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Bateson's horticultural experiments, these than the generalizations of zoology, and these than anthropology, simply because, in each case, the science is dealing with a larger, more complex unit, and with a smaller number of units ; and individuality is creeping in. Could you take men by the thousand billion, you could generalize about them as you do about atoms ; could you take atoms singly, you would find them as individual as your aunts and cousins. That concisely is the minority belief, the belief on which this present paper is based.

Now what is called the scientific method, the method of observation, of theory about these observations, experiment in verification of that theory and confirmation or modification, really only 'comes off' in the sciences in which the individuality of the units can be pretty completely ignored. The scientific method is the method of ignoring individualities ; and, like many mathematical conventions, its great practical convenience is no proof whatever of its final truth. The great advances made by Darwin and his school in biology were not made, it must be remembered, by the scientific method, as it is generally conceived, at all. There was no essential difference between the establishment of his generalizations and any intelligently conducted historical research. He conducted a research into pre-documentary history. He collected information along the lines indicated by certain interrogations ; and the bulk of his work was the digesting and critical analysis of that. For documents and monuments, he had fossils and anatomical structures, and germinating eggs too innocent to lie, and, so far, he was nearer simplicity. But, on the other hand, he had to correspond with breeders and travellers of various sorts, classes entirely analogous, from the point of view of evidence, to the writers of history and memoirs. I question profoundly, whether, when an experimental chemist or a Hyde Park lecturer or an unphilosophical contemporary of any sort, uses the word "science," the thought of such patient disentanglement as Darwin pursued ever enters his head. He means something positive and emphatic, based on amply repeated experiments capable of infinite repetition, "proved," as they say, "up to the hilt."

THE SO-CALLED SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

It would be of course possible to dispute whether the word "science" should convey this quality of certitude. But, to most people, it certainly does at the present time ; and I submit it does to the great majority of those who discussed the place of sociology among the sciences in the volume of which I am speaking. So far as the movements of comets and electric trams go, there is no doubt practically cock-sure science ; and indisputably Comte (who saw nothing very much in Plato) and Herbert Spencer (who couldn't read Kant) believed that cock-sure could be extended to every conceivable thing. The fact that Herbert Spencer called a certain doctrine Individualism, reflects nothing on the non-individualising quality of his primary assumptions, and of his mental texture. He believed that everything was finally measurable ; he believed that individuality (heterogeneity) was and is an evolutionary product from an original homogeneity ; and the thought that it might be inextricably in the nature of things probably never entered his head. He thought that identically similar units build up and built up, atoms, molecules, inorganic compounds, organic compounds, protoplasm, conscious protoplasm, and so on, until at last the brain reeled at the aggregation. This piling up from simplicity to incalculable confusion was really all the individuality he envisaged ; and it is all the individuality science ever does seem to envisage. It seems to me that the general usage is entirely for the limitation of the use of the word "science" to knowledge and the search after knowledge, of a high degree of precision. And not simply the general usage ; "Science is measurement." Science is "organised common sense," proud in fact of its essential error, scornful of any metaphysical analysis of its terms. No doubt one finds science still used, as it is used in the *Athenæum* for example, for knowledge at the historian's altogether lower level of conviction and exhaustiveness ; but that is, I think, an agreeable pedantry. In the general usage of to-day, 'science' implies a quality of knowledge that enables its possessor to foretell consequences within his purview ; and within that restricted sense, the great mass even of natural history still does not come. The invention of the word "biology" did

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

not in itself suffice to permeate those vast regions with the illusions of exactitude.

If we quite boldly face the fact that hard positive methods are less and less successful just in proportion as our "ologies" deal with larger and less numerous individuals (and that may be done perhaps without the reader following the writer into the heresies of modern logic) if we admit that we become less "scientific" as we ascend the scale of the sciences, and that we do and must change our method, then, it is humbly submitted, we shall be in a much better position to consider the question of "approaching" sociology than most of those who participated in the discussion of the Sociological Society. We shall realise that all this talk of the organization of sociology, as though presently the sociologist would be going about the world with the authority of a sanitary engineer, is and will remain nonsense. We shall regard with a less credulous charity sociology imitating zoology, and parodying physiology, and emulating the viler obscurities of the theorising biologist. We shall be prepared to admit devices of presentment and methods of approach that will shock any other sort of scientific men.

In one respect we shall still be in accordance with the Positivist map of the field of human knowledge ; with us as with that, sociology stands at the extreme end of the scale from the molecular sciences. In these latter there is an infinitude of units, in sociology, as Comte perceived, there is only one unit. It is true that Herbert Spencer, in order to get in classification somehow, did, as Professor Durkheim points out,¹ separate human society into societies, and made believe they competed one with another and died and reproduced just like animals, and that economists, following List, have for the purposes of fiscal controversy discovered economic types ; but this is a transparent device, and one is surprised to find thoughtful and reputable writers off their guard against such bad analogy. But indeed it is impossible to isolate complete communities of men, or to trace any but rude general resemblances between group and group.

¹ He says : "In positing the differentiation of social types, ignored by Comte, Spencer opened the way for those taxonomic studies necessary for a scientific classification of human societies."

THE SO-CALLED SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

These alleged units have as much individuality as pieces of cloud ; they come, they go, they fuse and separate. And we are forced to conclude, that not only is the method of observation, experiment, and verification left far away down the scale, but that the method of classification under types, which has served so useful a purpose in the middle group of subjects, the subjects involving numerous but a finite number of units, has also to be abandoned here. We cannot put Humanity into a museum, or dry it for examination ; our one single, still living specimen is all history, all anthropology, and the fluctuating world of men. There is no satisfactory means of dividing it and nothing else in the real world with which to compare it. We have only the remotest ideas of its 'life cycle,' and a few relics of its origin and dreams of its destiny. . . .

Sociology, it is evident, is, upon any hypothesis, no less than the attempt to bring that vast complex unique Being, its subject, into clear true relations with the individual intelligence. Now, since individual intelligences are individual, and each is a little differently placed in regard to the subject under consideration, since the personal angle of vision is much wider towards humanity than towards the circumambient horizon of matter, it should be manifest that no sociology of universal compulsion, of anything approaching the general validity of the physical sciences, is ever to be hoped for—at least upon the metaphysical assumptions of this paper. With that conceded, we may go on to consider the more hopeful ways in which that great Being may be presented in a comprehensible manner. Essentially this presentation must involve an element of self-expression, must partake quite as much of the nature of art as of science. One finds in the conference of the Sociological Society Professor Stein, speaking, indeed, a very different philosophical dialect from mine, but coming to the same practical conclusion in the matter,¹ and Mr. Osman Newman

¹ He says : "I am not in sympathy with Durkheim's main postulate, 'the inclusion of human phenomena within the unity of nature.' The unity of nature and history is a contention of metaphysics which generalizes that 'unity of the Ego' every individual observes in himself, projects it into the outside world, and applies it to the universe."

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

counting "evolving ideals for the future" as part of a sociologist's work. Mr. Alfred Fouillée also moves very interestingly in the region of this same idea; he concedes an essential difference between sociology and all other sciences in the fact of a "certain kind of liberty belonging to society in the exercise of its higher functions." He says, further: "If this view be correct, it will not do for us to follow in the steps of Comte and Spencer, and transfer, bodily and ready-made, the conceptions and the methods of the natural sciences into the science of society. For here the fact of *consciousness* entails a reaction of the whole assemblage of social phenomena upon themselves, such as the natural sciences have no example of." And he concludes: "Sociology ought, therefore, to guard carefully against the tendency to crystallize that which is essentially fluid and moving, the tendency to consider as given fact or dead data that which creates itself and gives itself into the world of phenomena continually by force of its own ideal conception." These opinions do, in their various keys, sound a similar *motif* to mine. If, indeed, the tendency of these remarks is justifiable, then unavoidably the subjective element, which is beauty, must coalesce with the objective, which is truth; and sociology must be neither art simply, nor science in the narrow meaning of the word at all, but knowledge rendered through personality, that is to say, in the highest sense of the term, literature.

If this contention is sound, if therefore we boldly follow Mr. Bryce in setting aside Comte and Spencer altogether, as pseudo-scientific interlopers rather than the authoritative parents of sociology, we shall have to substitute for the classifications of the social sciences that gleamed and vanished in the discussion of the society, an enquiry into the chief literary forms that subserve sociological purposes. Of these there are two, one invariably recognised as valuable, and one which, I think, under the obsession of the matter-of-fact scientific obsession, is altogether underrated and neglected. The first, which is the social side of History, I have least to say about; it makes up the bulk of valid sociological work at the present time. Of history there is the purely descriptive part, the detailed account of

THE SO-CALLED SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

past or contemporary social conditions, or of the sequences of such conditions ; and, in addition, there is the sort of historical literature that attempts to elucidate and impose general interpretations upon the complex of occurrences and institutions, to establish broad historical generalizations, to eliminate the mass of irrelevant incident, to present some great period of history, or all history, in the light of one dramatic sequence, or as one process. This Dr. Beattie Crozier, for example, attempts—I will not now discuss the measure of his success—in his *History of Intellectual Development*. Equally comprehensive is Buckle's *History of Civilization*. Lecky's *History of European Morals*, during the onset of Christianity again, is essentially sociology. Numerous works—Atkinson's most valuable essay on the *Origin of Marriage*, for example—are, as it were, fragments to the same purport. In the great design of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, or Carlyle's *French Revolution*, you have a greater insistence upon the dramatic and picturesque elements in history, but in other respects an altogether kindred endeavour to impose upon the vast confusions of the past a scheme of interpretation, valuable just in the measure of its literary value, of the success with which the discrepant masses have been fused and cast into the shape the insight of the writer has determined. The writing of great history is entirely analogous to fine portraiture, in which fact is indeed material but material entirely subordinate to vision. One main branch of the work of a Sociological Society must surely be to accept and render acceptable, to provide understanding, criticism, and stimulus for such literary activities which restore the dead bones of the past to a living participation in our lives.

But it is in the second and at present neglected direction that I believe the predominant attack upon the problem implied by the word "sociology" must lie ; the attack that must finally be driven home. As M. Fouillée pointed out in the Society's discussion, this subject contrasts with all the sciences in the respect that it cannot evade the consideration of "free will." There is no such thing in sociology as dispassionately considering what *is*, without considering what is *intended to be*. In sociology, beyond any possibility

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

of evasion, ideas are facts. The history of civilization is really the history of the appearance and reappearance, the tentatives and hesitations and alterations, the manifestations and reflections in this mind and that, of a very complex, imperfect, elusive idea, the Social Idea. It is that idea struggling to exist and realize itself in a world of egotisms, animalisms, and brute matter. Now I submit it is not only a legitimate form of approach, but altogether the most promising and hopeful form of approach, to endeavour to disentangle and express one's personal version of that idea, and to measure realities from the standpoint of that idealization. I think, in fact, that the creation of Utopias—and their exhaustive criticism—is the proper and distinctive method of sociology.

Suppose now the Sociological Society, or some considerable proportion of it, were to adopt this view, that Sociology is the description of the Ideal Society and its relation to existing societies, would not this give the synthetic framework Professor Durkheim demands?

Almost all the sociological literature beyond the province of history that has stood the test of time and established itself in the esteem of men is frankly Utopian. Plato, when his mind turned to schemes of social reconstruction, thrust his habitual form of dialogue into a corner; both the *Republic* and the *Laws* are practically Utopias in monologue; and Aristotle found the criticism of the Utopian suggestions of his predecessors richly profitable. Directly the mind of the world emerged again at the Renaissance from intellectual barbarism, in the brief breathing time before Sturm and the schoolmasters caught it and birched it into scholarship and a new period of sterility, it went on from Plato to the making of fresh Utopias. Not without profit did More discuss pauperism in this form and Bacon the organization of research; and the yeast of the French Revolution was Utopias. Even Comte, all the while that he is professing science, fact, precision, is adding detail after detail to the intensely personal Utopia of a Western Republic that constitutes his one meritorious gift to the world. Sociologists cannot help making Utopias; though they avoid the word, though they deny the idea with passion, their very

THE SO-CALLED SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

silences shape a Utopia. Why should they not follow the precedent of Aristotle, and accept Utopias as material?

There used to be in my student days, and probably still flourishes, a most valuable summary of fact and theory in comparative anatomy, called Rolleston's *Forms of Animal Life*. I figure to myself a similar book, a sort of dream book of huge dimensions, in reality perhaps dispersed in many volumes by many hands, upon the Ideal Society. This book, this picture of the perfect State, would be the backbone of sociology. It would have great sections devoted to such questions as the extent of the Ideal Society, its relation to racial differences, the relations of the sexes in it, its economic organization, its organization for thought and education, its "Bible"—as Dr. Beattie Crozier would say—its housing and social atmosphere, and so forth. Almost all the divaricating work at present roughly classed together as sociological could be brought into relation in the simplest manner, either as new suggestions, as new discussion or criticism, as newly ascertained facts bearing upon such discussions and sustaining or eliminating suggestions. The institutions of existing states would come into comparison with the institutions of the Ideal State, their failures and defects could be criticised most effectually in that relation, and the whole science of collective psychology, the psychology of human association, would be brought to bear upon the question of the practicability of this proposed ideal.

This method would give not only a boundary shape to all sociological activities, but a scheme of arrangement for text books and lectures, and points of direction and reference for the graduation and post graduate work of sociological students.

Only one group of enquiries commonly classed as sociological, would have to be left out of direct relationship with this Ideal State; and that is enquiries concerning the rough expedients to meet the failure of imperfect institutions. Social emergency work of all sorts comes under this head. What to do with the pariah dogs of Constantinople, what to do with the tramps who sleep in the London parks, how to organize a soup kitchen or

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

a Bible coffee-van, how to prevent ignorant people who have nothing else to do, getting drunk in beer-houses, are no doubt serious questions for the practical administrator, questions of primary importance to the politician; but they have no more to do with Sociology than the erection of a temporary hospital after the collision of two trains has to do with railway engineering. The business of the railway engineer is to disentangle his mind from these consequences, and find out what was wrong for the accident to have occurred at all. That is his affair.

So much for my second and most central and essential portion of sociological work. It should be evident that the former part, the historical part, which conceivably will be much the bulkier and more abundant of the two, will in effect amount to a history of the suggestions in circumstance and experience of that Idea of Society of which the second will consist, and of the instructive failures in attempting its incomplete realization.

However, my desire to give an explicit presentation of this conception of Sociology must not carry me beyond my point, and lead me to define its relations overmuch. My present purpose is to suggest that the existing classification of the departments of mental activity is one, not only of field and range, but of method and nature. It is the most natural thing in the world to fall into the trap of a Classification of the Sciences, without a careful preliminary examination of what Science precisely is. Comte and Herbert Spencer not only expressed but intensified an idea that dominated the whole nineteenth century, that science, an exact logical development of common-sense methods, can be extended to cover all truth, and that artistic and literary expression are inferior and unsubstantial human activities, methods of decoration as it were, applied to the 'scientific' gold. The celebrated three-fold order of intellectual development, of which Comte made so much, the treatment of the whole field of knowledge as passing from the Mythical or fictitious to the Metaphysical (which Comte, who was soaked in abstractions, absurdly enough identifies with "abstract") and so to the Scientific or Positive stages, has just the plausibility and once had the

THE SO-CALLED SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

novelty to commend it to young and original men. It caught, I believe, many brilliant minds at a plastic and rather heedless age. But indeed it is scarcely more than a smart saying, a saying that one might expect to pass muster when men talk metaphysics and history and nonsense after dinner, but which it is astonishing to find dominating quite eminent minds after this lapse of half a century. It is comforting to find at least one among one's seniors, Mr. James Bryce, speaking his mind freely of the great parents of 'scientific' sociology, to find one does not altogether cut oneself off from the great generation of one's predecessors by these repudiations.

H. G. WELLS

HODGE AND HIS EDUCATORS

WHO are these who are talking about Agricultural Education and Nature Study? Agricultural Labourers are not talking about them, nor do they enter much into the conversation of the sturdy British farmer; of him it may be said shortly that he doesn't believe in them.

Who, then, do talk about them? Why, the Rich. One might have thought that the subject would have been of far deeper interest to the Poor, for whom education is a necessity, than to the Rich, for whom it is merely a luxury. Why are the Rich so anxious to have the Agricultural Poor agriculturally educated? The Poor, who evidently don't want to be agriculturally educated, are moving into the towns, where they can get far better general education for themselves and for their children. To quote Canon Steward, at Gloucester in October last: "The exodus from the Country is largely due to economic considerations of supply and demand, and of wages, to social attractions, to insecurity of tenure of the home, and, possibly, to the unsympathetic attitude of the smaller farmers towards their employés." He does not mention the lack of agricultural education.

But still, if agricultural education be a blessing, why do the Rich desire to force this blessing on the Poor, who don't want it? Two reasons are generally given. First, because it is said that if the "rural exodus" be continued, the land will go out of cultivation. How *can* people believe that? It is a simple question of wages. Pay high enough wages, and plenty of labourers may be had. The farmers say they can't afford to pay higher wages. Yes, they can, if they pay the landlord less rent. Can this be the reason of the

HODGE AND HIS EDUCATORS

landlord's zeal for agricultural education? Can it be to keep his rents up?

The second reason often advanced is, that the countryman is a more sturdy and robust fellow than the townsman, and that we want a strong race of men for our Army, to defend our shores; that is, to defend the property of the Rich, for the Poor have little enough to lose. But there need *now* be no difficulty in securing strong and healthy men for the Army; we do *now* secure strong and healthy men for the Navy, but it is due to no scheme of Naval Education. Even to-day it is, in agricultural villages, considered a discreditable thing to "list for a soger"; give the soldier good pay, and civilized conditions of life, and there will be no lack of good men. In the South African War volunteers at 5s. a day were fighting in line with soldiers at 1s. a day; and famous fighters they were too. If we want a good article, we must be prepared to pay a good price.

So the whole question would seem to resolve itself into a mere question of wages: if more were done to make the life of the agricultural labourer attractive, a small addition to his wages would content him. I know of one parish where, until a year or two ago, nothing had ever, within the memory of man, been done to brighten village life; no lecture, or concert, or entertainment of any kind, had ever been heard of. I know of a large village where any sort of recreation or school-treat is invariably either Church or Chapel; so that, from their earliest years, the children learn the beauties of Christian discord. Any purely public object advocated by one party is promptly opposed by the other.

The horrible insanitation of some country villages comes out in the reports of the Bucks Medical Officers of Health, as in many other agricultural counties. You find a labourer living on a soil officially reported to be "saturated with sewage," and drinking water officially stated to be "polluted"; terrible outbreaks of diphtheria, and other diseases, which the Medical Officer of Health declares to be preventible, carry off the children; no provision for effective isolation exists, so that the disease ravages the whole village. And, when the more independent

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

and enterprising of the labourers propose to move from this pestilential spot to a well-ordered town, they are offered Nature Study and Agricultural Education with a gravity worthy of comic opera. It is the duty of the District Council and of the County Council to attend to sanitary questions; sanitary reform costs money and the money must come from the rates; so it is to save their own pockets that they condemn the Poor to a life of degradation in filthy and dangerous surroundings. To find a labourer on a District Council is almost unknown; nearly everywhere the Parish Councils also are dominated by the Rich. If the Rich did their duty, it would not be more difficult to abolish pauperism in England, than in the kingdom of Wurtemberg. Father Adderley says that the conversion of twenty ground landlords might turn half London into a Garden City, where slums and Hooliganism would be unknown; and if half of the even nominally Christian among brewers and shareholders in breweries would exercise self-denial and love, we could abolish fifty per cent. of the temptations to drunkenness in six months. One of these days, the Rich may experience a rude and hasty awakening.

But, besides the insanitary conditions which so widely prevail, let us remember what is the daily toil of the labourer for whom comes never a day's holiday all the year round. For those who have the care of the beasts on the farm, there can be no Sunday holiday, or even Saturday half-holiday; from year's end to year's end the cows must be milked early and late, and, unless they be milked by the same hand, they will not give their full quota of milk. This practice has quite recently fallen into the hands of men. Fifty or more years ago the rosy-cheeked milk-maid undertook this duty and lived on the farm; now the milker often has a long walk before beginning his work, and we find farmers' daughters not ashamed to say they have never learned to milk.

If, however, after a course of Nature Study and Agricultural Education, a young countryman does become an enthusiast, and determines to devote his life to agriculture, what would be the height of his ambition? Would it not be some day to farm his own freehold? The office-

HODGE AND HIS EDUCATORS

boy in the town who devotes himself to "polishing up the handle of the big front door" may dream of the day when he will have a shop of his own, even be Mayor of his native town and (who knows?) possibly a Conservative M.P. But what can the agricultural labourer look forward to? He may, perhaps, hope eventually to be a small farmer, on somebody else's land, in the fragmentary feudal system, whose baneful effects exercise a deadly influence on all agricultural enterprise; and must do so until the conditions of land-tenure in this country are radically altered. But to own a farm in his native village, to take his place among the landowners of the county, to claim his share in our glorious national inheritance of Literature and Art, never enters his wildest hopes.

It was a very happy thought of those who arranged the Gloucester Conference to invite an Agricultural Earl to meet an Educational Marquess; to judge by the printed report; all the arrangements appear to have been admirably organized and carried out, although no one was invited to represent the labourers' view of the question. As is usual in such Conferences, the lion's share of the time available was allotted to those favouring the views of the conveners; hence the few sentences uttered by those holding diverse views at the fag-end of the Conference, when many had left, should claim our most earnest attention.

Mr. J. M. White, a farmer, after hearing Lord Onslow, Sir John Dorington, Sir William Hart-Dyke, two or three M.P.s, and sundry Professors, remarks: "In no speech have I heard anything about how to make agriculture really pay;" that is the Farmer's view of Agricultural Education. As for the Labourer, he says: "One reason why our labourers do not take the matter up, is because they feel that education diminishes their income instead of increasing it." It is to be hoped that Lord Onslow learned something from Mr. White's speech, because he said later, rather quaintly, in acknowledging a vote of thanks: "It does us good sometimes to look at the other side of the medal, and hear from those who are practically engaged in Agriculture what they think of it as a paying concern." It would be interesting to know something about the side of the medal that

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the Minister of Agriculture habitually does contemplate. Does it represent what he thinks of it as a political concern? Or as a social concern? Or as a rent-collecting concern? Or as a sporting concern? Or as an electioneering concern? Merchants and manufacturers are apt to look on that side of the medal only which shows their business as a paying concern; and it does seem a pity that that side of the medal should be only occasionally and exceptionally under the notice of the Minister of Agriculture.

Mr. James T. Hobbs, a tenant farmer, backs up Mr. White's speech. Mr. W. S. Lane, a Worcestershire tenant farmer, as well as Canon Steward, expressed a strong opinion that, in the interest of the boys themselves, their first experience of farm life should not be postponed till the age of fourteen.

There was a remarkable speech from Mr. Henry J. Elwes, who presented the unusual combination of being a practical farmer of considerable experience, as well as a Fellow of the Royal Society: "The help which science gives to agriculture is often much over-rated;" he adds: "As a practical farmer, I am not honestly able to say that I have been able to apply whatever scientific knowledge I may have, in a profitable way." And again: "When it comes to the balance sheet, the so-called scientific farming frequently ends in a deficit."

What then may be accepted as the net result of this important and largely attended Conference? It has brought out clearly that the question of Agricultural Education must be taken in hand by the farmers themselves; if they shirk their duty, the money which they contribute in rates and taxes will be expended for them by the landowning and wealthy classes who gathered in such overwhelming force at Gloucester, and they will naturally administer the fund as they think agriculturists *ought* to wish to see it administered.

But if the farmers themselves will undertake the duty, and fix their attention on what Lord Onslow terms "the other side of the medal," and take up what it appears is to him an entirely new idea, and regard agriculture as a

HODGE AND HIS EDUCATORS

“paying concern,” then they will take care that no penny of the public money is spent except (to use Mr. White’s phrase) “to make Agriculture really pay.”

Of course it is beyond a doubt that scientific agriculture, wisely utilised, *can* be made to pay, and already has in many instances in this country put money into the farmer’s pocket ; it has led to the composition of artificial manures and feeding stuffs in paying proportions ; and it is now a farmer’s own fault if he buys and uses rubbish that does not pay ; it has led to the cross-breeding of stock ; English stock has now a world-wide reputation, and is exported to foreign countries for breeding purposes at prices that well repay the farmer. But it is in other countries that the results of Agricultural Education are most striking, chiefly in the use that has been made of it by the State, with the hearty co-operation of the farmers. We know how grandly Dr. William Saunders has served the Canadian farmers, from the experimental farm at Ottawa ; by his experiments in cross-fertilization he has produced a robust wheat which grows in rigorous climates where wheat never grew before. All over the North American Continent farmers are vastly profiting by agricultural science ; fruits and grains are being produced of qualities and in quantities quite unknown anywhere else. But this is mainly the result of the efforts of the Agricultural Departments of Canada and of the United States. In Canada, samples of water, grain, seeds, artificial manures, feeding stuffs, or soils, may be sent free by post to Dr. Saunders for analysis, who reports on them without charge ; in this country a charge is made to the farmer. All this, and much more, might be done for the English farmer if he chose to insist on it ; but how can he be expected to do so when he doesn’t believe in it ? In every one of the neighbouring Continental countries, the State Department of Agriculture has vastly helped to make farming pay ; that has been because the farmers have combined. English farmers don’t believe in combination. They are content to grumble as they watch other countries capturing our markets one by one. Every European country spends far more on the advancement of Agriculture than England does ; in most County

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Councils the money allotted to Agriculture is grudgingly bestowed, although Hertfordshire has just voted £1,000 to its Chamber of Agriculture, to induce farmers to co-operate in obtaining the passing of laws favourable to Agriculture.

But there is an underlying reason for this which is always influencing the agricultural mind. Prosperous agriculture means high rents; when agriculture is depressed, the farmer comes to the landlord, hat in hand, to beg for an abatement of his rent of his charity. The landlord is often obliged to give it; but he takes care that the farmer is reminded of it at election times. Farming is not like any other business, because the Rich have a monopoly of the land, and they do not regard a farm as a mere food factory. If a man hires a plot of land for a paper and boot factory, or for turnip and marmalade works, he does not come to the landlord for an abatement of rent when he has a bad year and things are slack after a costly war; he takes care in good years, when business is brisk, to provide for the time when his wares will not be in so much demand. But no one, neither landlord nor tenant, wishes to conduct farming on business principles; both parties prefer to maintain the personal relations; and so scientific agriculture is coldly regarded, and must be until the conditions of land tenure are freed and enlarged. Neither landlord nor tenant advocates this, which really lies at the root of the whole question.

At first sight Land Tenure appears to have little to do with profitable farming and agricultural education. Those who advocate agricultural education with all sincerity may be excused if they shrink from touching so big a question as the Land Question; and yet thereon hang many other questions which become each year more and more pressing. With the advance of education the day is fast approaching when the Poor of the Land will have a far more effective voice in their own government than they have at present; and then the feudal, antiquated territorial land system of to-day must inevitably be swept away.

In many parts of the country the prospects of agriculture are at a low ebb; we are in a transition stage, when

HODGE AND HIS EDUCATORS

the old feudal relations between landlord, farmer, and labourer are gradually passing away, and even agricultural education cannot save them. The Royal Agricultural Society, with a glorious and creditable history in the past, is tottering to bankruptcy. The farmers are still trying to do the impossible. Every other business man buys wholesale and sells retail ; in the farming business, he buys retail and sells wholesale. And no human being can expect to trade profitably on those lines. Sooner or later, British farmers will have to combine, as farmers have in other countries, to buy wholesale ; and they must also sell in combination. The Central Dairy Farmers' Association is making a good beginning in that direction. In vain has Lord Stalbridge for years been exhorting the Dorset Farmers to combination and organization ; but now the time appears to be at hand, when they will be driven to combine.

It is difficult to see that the Rich have any moral right to dictate to the Poor in what direction their children are to be educated ; is not the claim to do so a trifle arrogant and impertinent ? But, in view of the great responsibilities of the Rich, the Poor may fairly claim a voice in a matter so important to them as the suitable education of the Rich ; and as they constitute an immense majority of the electors, they have the power to enforce their views.

While on the one hand the question of agricultural education presents many difficulties in its application to the Poor, there seem to be none in its application to the Rich ; the number of children in a village school who are pretty sure to remain in the country must be small. Sir Thomas Acland estimates it at one in three, or perhaps even one in five ; and it may be questioned whether it is worth spending public money on so small a proportion which may be only one-tenth of the whole attendance. The father of several boys will naturally encourage the brightest and most enterprising to go and try their luck elsewhere. The boys themselves have always before their eyes the object-lesson of what is the usual fate of the agricultural labourer in old age. But this does not apply to the Rich ; his lot in old age has many consolations : he is often a man who has made his

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

fortune in a town, and comes late in life to settle down in the country as a "Fine old English Gentleman." Now if the conveners of the October Conference would summon another one of Farmers and Labourers to advocate Nature Study and Agricultural Education for the Rich, it would surely lead to interesting developments. They might form a league binding themselves to vote against the election on any public body of a landowner who had not passed through a course of Agricultural Education and Nature Study ; the labourer may claim to be free to study agriculture or anything else he thinks more useful for his advancement in life, but the landowner has no right to this freedom. If the Rich choose to live in the country, and act on Parish Councils, District Councils, and County Councils, it is not much to insist that they shall in some measure qualify for country life.

Father Adderley tells us he knows "that the children of the Rich are being brought up with the same selfish disregard of their neighbours, and the same criminal disrespect for hard work, which have produced luxury and callousness in their parents, and have produced the 'social problem' in England which now confronts us." If this be so, it would seem to be about time for the Poor to look into the question of the education of the Rich.

It may be that the Poor are hardly yet ripe for directly undertaking the Education of the Rich. But, indirectly, they may one of these days influence it ; they may insist on awkward enquiries as to the absorption by the Rich of educational endowments left for the Poor. They may require that such endowments, whether at Grammar Schools, Public Schools, or Universities, shall be restored to their original purpose.

For the meantime, the Poor are increasing in intelligence and independence year by year ; and it is not likely that they will long consent to have educational limits imposed on them by another class of the community.

EDMUND VERNEY

THE STATE AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

IN the year 1870, the State in this country assumed responsibility for the provision of cheap well-organised primary education for the community. Twenty years later, it offered that education to the children of the people free. Meanwhile, it did substantially nothing on behalf of the organisation of secondary education. That remained, as primary education had done up to 1870, the concern of private operators, assisted by grants from the Imperial purse.

Year by year, however, the great School Boards found themselves face to face with the fact that large numbers of the working classes were prepared to make whatever personal sacrifices were necessary in order that their children might receive a training extending in time and character a year or so beyond the normal length and scope of the primary school course. To meet this most gratifying demand, these School Boards made, with the full official approval of men like Mr. Mundella, Mr. Acland, and Sir George Kekewich, provision for a measure of publicly controlled secondary education. In 1895, it was discovered that, in so doing, they had travelled beyond the functions prescribed for them in the Act of 1870. (At any rate they had the barren satisfaction of knowing that the Education Department also had been wrong all along.) The remedy for all this would have been very simple, had it not been the fact that this admirable provision of public secondary education under popular control was found to have come into rather acute competition with the voluntary and State-aided provision of secondary education under private

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

management, already referred to. As it was, the Government set itself rigorously to clip the wings and check the ambition of the great School Boards, and initiated a policy which ended in the School Boards being ruled rigidly down to the dispensation of purely elementary education.

Matters could not, of course, remain where they were. So the Government introduced a great measure for the simplification of our public operations in the various grades of education ; for the delimitation of the scope of each grade ; for the development and organisation of the public provision of higher education ; for the co-ordination of the various grades of public education ; and for the symmetrical handling of the whole by one and the same local authority in each educational area. Having deprived the working classes of many prized opportunities for effective secondary education, it said, with an apparent sincerity : ' We will build up anew and on better organised lines. We will create Local Education Authorities in each area, with full powers over all grades of public education within their jurisdiction. We will set the present educational house in order, and then add higher stories, with means of access from the lower to the upper, easy and obvious as a result of resolute co-ordination.' Thus, I think, would the authors of the Act of 1902 themselves put their best construction on one of its two chief aims. Unhappily for educational progress, controversies at once arose as to the measure of popular control over primary education, as to the problem of religious instruction, and as to the destruction of the great School Boards. But into these I need not now go.

Very good. The Act of 1902, then, is not only to perfect the provision of facilities for primary education (I am putting its authors' own construction upon it) ; but it is to link these facilities organically with the State provision about to be made in respect of higher education. And, after two years of industrious attention to the problem of the better organisation of the primary education of the country, the Board of Education turns its attention to the second step in the programme : the treatment of the public provision for higher education, and the second part of the pledge which the Act of 1902 gave the country. The

THE STATE AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

determination thus promptly to deal with the matter is excellent. But the fundamental consideration that should have been kept in view is, the necessity so to organise public secondary education that it shall form a constituent part of the general provision of national education as a whole. That is the essence of the policy of 1902, as put forth by its authors. With this in view, the Board of Education should have remembered that the base of the pyramid is the public provision of primary education, and that public aid on behalf of secondary education should be so offered as to secure that the secondary school in being shall be found to be linked organically to the elementary school, and be, in effect, more or less of a telescopic development of the educationally humbler institution below it. At the other end, the scope of the secondary school should be so directed as to cause it to dove-tail easily into the institutions for higher education above it. In a word, whilst class prejudices cannot be put entirely out of sight, they ought to have been firmly subordinated, as they have been in most of the countries of Europe, in the States, and in our own Colonies, to the demand of a genuine democratic and broadly-based scheme of national education.

In the constitution of the Canton Zurich there is a clause which declares that "the higher establishments for teaching shall be brought into organic connection with the popular school"; and that ideal finds practical application in the working of the Swiss system. Again, the Minister of Education for Ontario recently assured us that, of the 16,969 pupils at work in the High Schools of Ontario in 1891, 3,866 were the children of labourers and artisans, 7,104 of farmers, 4,170 of merchants, and 1,829 of professional men. And as for the United States, the Moseley Commissioners recently reported that :—

"The free schools are largely used by all classes. The son of the wealthy man sits in the same class with the son of the labourer. In Washington, we saw the son of the President of the United States, two grandsons of the late President Garfield, and many children of members of Congress, sitting and working in the same classes as the children of coachmen, gardeners, labourers, &c. Not the

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

slightest difference is observed in regard to these children ; they mix in the classes and playgrounds on terms of perfect equality. . . Our (English) great Secondary Schools cater for a select few, theirs for the whole people. They give an equal chance of a sound education to every boy or girl, irrespective of class, creed or means ; and on the whole they are successful."

But there is no need to labour the point. Those who wish well of their country and its future must agree as to the absolute necessity—in these days of fierce intellectual international competition—of broadening, of nationalising, and of democratising, as far as practicable, the State provision of higher education. Now the Board of Education has issued a series of "Regulations for Secondary Schools." (Command 2128, Price 2d.). These are not only designed to indicate on what terms State aid will be forthcoming in respect of the provision of higher education. They are also intended as a guide for, and in many cases a direction to, the Local Education Authorities who are now commencing operations under Part II (Higher Education) of the Act of 1902. It is impossible, therefore, to over-estimate the vital importance of the Regulations, or their far-reaching effect upon the nature of the provision of secondary education in this country. For here it is the first step that counts—and costs. If we go wrong now, we may not only miss a stupendous opportunity for the democratisation of our provision of higher education—and through that, in the long run, of the social institutions of the country—but we may, by the creation of vested interests, make the retracing of our steps inconceivably difficult.

Well now, what have I to say to the Board of Education's epoch-making Regulations for Secondary Education ? It is this ; that, first and last, they fail entirely to treat the provision of secondary education as anything but a "class" necessity. Therefore they fail in a vital particular, and are not only largely worthless but meretricious. They are ably executed and attractively worded. *But their purpose is rather to set up a complete and self-contained system of general education, elementary and advanced, for the middle and professional classes, as a thing entirely apart, than to fashion a*

THE STATE AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

compartment of secondary education to be fitted harmoniously into the whole scheme of national education. For instance, they talk about pupils being admitted to the "secondary" schools at 8 or 9 years of age. That, of course, is sheer nonsense. Pupils may be admitted to socially select primary schools, or to secondary schools with socially select primary classes, at that age. But that doesn't make the training given therein "secondary" education. What secondary education can be given to a child at the age of 8 or 9? Is it not evident that at this early age the instruction of children must be of a purely elementary character? Nay, is not that the rule of the Board of Education itself? For in No. 2 of these Regulations it is declared that "in classes in the school below those taking the course, the curriculum must be such as will prepare the scholars fully for entering on the course. It must include English, Geography, History, Arithmetic, Writing, Drawing, and Physical Exercises. It should also make provision for work to develop accuracy of observation, and for skill of hand and for singing." This, significantly enough, is an exact counterpart of the curriculum of the elementary school. For in Regulation 1 of the Elementary School Code it is declared, that the "elementary school curriculum should be based on a graduated course of instruction suited to the age and capacity of the scholars in the following subjects—The English Language, Arithmetic, Knowledge of the Common Phenomena of the External World, Geography, History, Drawing, Singing, Physical Exercises, and Plain Needlework (for girls)."

Here then is a distinct recognition by the Board of Education of two classes of schools, identical almost with regard to curricula, yet the one styled "elementary" and the other "secondary." And why? Obviously for social and not for educational reasons.

No doubt the counsel of perfection is, that all classes of the community shall use together first of all the public primary school, as they do in Wales and Scotland—to go no further afield. And even in England, where class distinctions cut to such deplorable depths, people are coming more and more so to do. In London, in 1870, it was calculated that six-sevenths of the whole child popula-

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

tion would use the public elementary school. When the great London School Board passed out of existence, it was found that eleven-twelfths was the proportion. The democratisation of the social fabric which this involves cannot be overstated. It hurt some people's feelings so much, that, for this and other reasons, they determined to destroy the agency which had brought it about. Of course, in certain parts of great urban centres, the professional classes may reasonably refuse at present to use the primary school. In such cases a separate and socially superior provision of primary education may be needed. Very well ; let the parents pay for it. But don't extend the principle universally, and call upon the State to pay for such education as "public secondary education." If you do, you are not only obtaining State aid under false pretences ; but, what is far worse, you are deliberately arresting the tide which has set in, mainly through the agency of the common school, for the gradual obliteration, through the common school, of those class prejudices which work so much harm to this country of ours.

Again, part of the policy of 1902 was to place all grades of education in the hands of competent local authorities. These regulations declare that the secondary school must be conducted by a body of "Governors." I am strongly of opinion that these schools, many of which are receiving large Treasury support, amounting to no less than £5 per annum per scholar for the fourth year of their courses, supplemented as it no doubt will be from the local rates, should come under the direct control of the local education authority. Yet, if these Regulations are to be followed, a local authority may not manage a school built out of local rates and maintained out of public funds, without acting through a body of "Governors." What, in the name of common honesty, becomes of the pledge of 1902 ?

Then there is the question—into which I go later in more detail—of the fees to be paid by the parents for the secondary education. In this matter the local authority is to act only after approval by the Board of Education. This is scarcely in accord with the "trust-the-local-authority "

THE STATE AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

professions of two years ago. In some places, a free secondary school may be a wise economy ; and in no secondary school should the fees required constitute any barrier to the admission of pupils whose intellectual capacity may give promise of service to the State. The idea that an elementary school, being free, attended by the poor only, is giving education of a paltry character, while a secondary school requiring a high fee is necessarily giving education of a higher stamp, should be resolutely combated. Yet there is much in these Regulations tending to foster this unwise conception. The distinction between elementary and higher education should be based upon the course of study followed, and the object in view ; it should not in any way depend upon the payment or non-payment of fees. Least of all should it imply a difference in social status.

Again, not to go too closely into detail, there is the problem of scholarships and bursaries for children of capacity but of humble parentage—another vital item in the pledges of the great educational programme of 1902. On this matter the Regulations are hopelessly inadequate. They apparently anticipate and prepare for a grotesquely exiguous provision of scholarships connected with Science and Art alone. I must insist that no national scheme of scholarships can be regarded as complete, until there is full possibility for children of capacity passing from one grade of school, to another of a higher type. Such scholarships should not be restricted to results attained in scientific and artistic subjects alone. There should be provision for the children who have followed a course of general education, and certainly for those who are looking forward to a commercial life in later years. Indeed, the whole problem needs to be treated on a scale altogether more generous and expansive than is the measure of consideration given in these Regulations.

But worse even than the Regulations are the communications upon the question of scholarships which, up to recently, the Board of Education has been sending to the great local authorities throughout the country which are now engaged in putting Part II of the Act of 1902 into

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

operation ; and, with what I consider to be nothing short of unjustifiable impertinence, the Board of Education is telling a great local authority, like, for instance, the Bolton City Council, that *it must not have more than 25 per cent. of free places in its secondary schools*. It has been, up to recently, insisting upon this superior limit of free places all over the country. Now there is nothing in the Regulations which justifies this. It is, in a word, a monstrous interference with the independence of the great education authorities created by the Government's own Act of 1902.

Then as to fees. Down to the moment of writing, *the Board of Education has been insisting that the minimum annual fee per annum in a secondary school conducted under the auspices of the new authorities shall be £3*. This is not only an unwarrantable interference with the independence of the local authorities, but it imposes a charge which is hopelessly prohibitive from the point of view of working-class parents. For years, what will now become municipal secondary schools have been conducted as higher grade Board Schools, where the fees have been 6d., 9d., or 1s. a week ; and there has been unlimited discretion in the matter of the number of free places. What will happen if the Board of Education demands a £3 fee ? The working-class parent will throw up the sponge in despair. He has, in the past, exercised a great measure of self-denial in foregoing the immediate advantage to his little household which the earnings of the child, whom he is struggling to keep at school for a year or two longer, represent. If now he is told that a £3 fee is the minimum charge upon him, his child will not get the continued education which it would have got under the old dispensation ; and the provision of secondary education will here—as in every other feature of these Regulations—become more and more a provision for the professional and the middle classes. And, much as I hesitate to set the judgment upon paper, I am irresistibly drawn to the conclusion that this is the main purpose, not only of these Regulations, but of the administrative enactments of the Board of Education under them.

In a word, my case is, that these secondary school Regulations actually constitute a serious breach of faith with the

THE STATE AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

nation. For nine years the Government policy has been, as I have said, to simplify, to systematise, and to "delimit" education; and then to build it up again co-ordinated and organically linked together as to all its grades. Very good. The work of "delimitation" has been carried out with a ruthless hand; and in the proceeding the working classes have been robbed, as I have said, of many an easy and handy opportunity for secondary education which the public spirit of the great School Boards had placed within their reach. But when it comes to the second chapter, the scene is significantly changed. It is true, co-ordination is set up by the creation under the Education Act of 1902 of local authorities responsible for all the public education within their areas. But the present Regulations deliberately undermine this salutary provision, by removing the supply and control of secondary education to a large extent from the hands of the local authorities, and placing them in the keeping of Whitehall. The Government attitude *now* is:—"Oh! They can look after primary education; but keep their hands off secondary education as far as possible."

So much for co-ordination. But that isn't all. Having seriously crippled the legitimate ambition of the primary school, the Board of Education left us expectant. We waited to see its democratic scheme of secondary education—a second storey added in the same educational style as the ground floor. And this is the sequel! A separate system of "class" schools, altogether for the professional and middle classes, styled "secondary," but in reality giving, as a preliminary to secondary education, primary education under socially select conditions, as well as purely secondary education. It rudely shakes one's faith in the protestations to which we have listened for the last nine years, in favour of a complete, well-co-ordinated, and scientifically planned system of national education—primary, secondary and higher. That such a cynical sequel should be possible at all, is a shocking comment upon the indifference of the working classes to a matter which ought, instantly and acutely, to stir them "into active indignation."

T. J. MACNAMARA

“MERE TECHNIQUE”: AN ANSWER

I HAVE read with great interest Mr. Roger Fry's article in the *INDEPENDENT REVIEW* of last September on *Mere Technique*, in which he speaks of the material side of art and the different manners in which it is regarded by French and English artists. As a Frenchman, not altogether unacquainted with the training, theories, and aspirations of the younger generation of French artists, I should like to put before the readers of the *REVIEW* some reflections suggested by a few of the points on which Mr. Fry touches.

It would seem that, once more, the idea of a return to the past is firing the spirits of certain subtle æsthetes in England. Pre-Raphaelitism is dead; and the present generation views with just severity this attempt, which, for five and twenty years, absorbed a great portion of the best artistic forces of the country with doubtful results. But, though Pre-Raphaelitism is dead, the desire of equalling the old masters, or rather the desire of imitating the works of bygone days, is still alive. That vital principle which was totally lacking in the art of the Pre-Raphaelites will be regenerated when a reverent study of the old masters shall have led to a complete assimilation of their methods—this, I take it, is the reasoning of those who promote the movement in favour of technique. Such, however, is not my view; and I believe that a careful study of the old masters—useful and necessary as it is—will lead us to the opinion that their beautiful surface qualities are not to be regretted, inasmuch as it was by the loss and deterioration of these very qualities that a large number of our finest artists were enabled to assert their personality with

"MERE TECHNIQUE": AN ANSWER

greater boldness and fancy. It is interesting, however, to enquire into the causes of the inferiority of the *matière* of painting in our days, and to follow its successive transformations from the earliest works of art to the present time. By so doing, we shall be able to prove that these transformations were both inevitable and advantageous.

The first appearance of coloured decoration in Italy took the form of enamel and mosaic work. Enamel was used to decorate church ornaments, shrines, reliquaries, crosiers, chalices, &c. ; vitrified at a high temperature, it was applied, in either an opaque or transparent state, upon plates of gold, silver, or copper. For material richness and beauty few substances can compare with it. In like manner, the early mosaics which cover the great walls of the Italian cathedrals, such as those of Ravenna, Torcello, and Venice, afford extreme pleasure to the eye. And yet the great artists who followed the early mosaic workers almost entirely abandoned the use of these enchanting little squares of glass or polished marble, in order to adopt the arts of fresco and tempera painting. For what reason? Mosaics are admirably adapted to the rendering of large surfaces, simple draperies, precision of form and placidity of countenance ; but they are slow of execution, and all modelling in them is difficult, if not impossible. Fresco painting, on the other hand, is rapid, and lends itself to every caprice of the artist's brush ; by its means the subtlest expressions, and the most delicate modellings and gradations become realisable. The use of tempera has similar advantages. It is, therefore, not surprising that artists did not hesitate to abandon an art which, though materially beautiful, was unpliant in the extreme, in order to hail with enthusiasm other methods, less materially fine, but capable of reproducing with more fidelity and greater ease their artistic conceptions.

With enamels the transformation was different. In the impossibility of inventing another method which should answer to the same needs, the enameller adhered to the original process ; but he discovered a white enamel, whose paste-like substance was more easily handled than the

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

powdered grains. With this new product, whose material beauty was undoubtedly inferior, the craftsman was able to execute with ease portions of his decoration which had hitherto necessitated the rudimentary assistance of the graver's point ; he even found means to apply with a paint-brush another substance, still less beautiful in itself, but by means of which he was enabled to trace lines and to impart colour to his whites. It was, therefore, by the acquisition of these inferior materials that fresh life was breathed into the art of enamelling.

The early masters who practised the arts of fresco or tempera painting long preserved their love of beautiful surfaces. Their pictures were at first nearly always adorned with gold and silver, with inlay and relief. Gold predominates in the works of Cimabue and his school. Paolo Uccello used to apply gold and silver to certain portions of his pictures, and, by afterwards glazing those portions, obtained extremely fine effects of colour. Little by little, however, these rich materials were abandoned. They were abandoned because they no longer fulfilled the requirements of artists who were beginning to base themselves more directly upon nature. Every day the tendency towards greater realism became more accentuated ; and, when oil painting was invented, it carried all before it.

Artists had experienced great difficulty in painting in tempera ; for, in this process, as likewise in fresco, the values and colours of the paints change as they dry, so that re-painting becomes almost impossible. This is of little importance in decorative work, in which everything is planned beforehand to the minutest detail, so that when once the composition, drawing, and colouring are thought out, and the design well prepared, it can be executed without any alteration. But, in more realistic pictures—portraits, for instance—the case is different. Here it is the final execution which offers the most difficulty. In order to catch the fleeting expression of an eye or mouth, even the most skilful painter will be glad to re-paint his canvas many times, and may even completely alter his original work, if he is tempted by a more interesting aspect of his model, or by a more attractive effect of light. It was the

"MÈRE TECHNIQUE": AN ANSWER

discovery of oil painting which made such instantaneous realisation possible. Artists of all countries, therefore, eagerly adopted the new medium, in spite of the fact that its oily, shiny surface was much less agreeable to the eye than the fresh pure colours and *mat* surface of tempera. They appreciated the facility it gives for re-painting,¹ and recognised that, while it was as fluid as tempera, it was much more consistent, that its power was greater, its colours deeper and more vivid, and the variety of its shades infinite.

At the same time, these early painters in oil took the greatest pains to obtain fine surfaces with the new process. The material qualities of Van Eyck's pictures are prodigious; and it is scarcely possible to imagine what they must have cost the painter in time, patience, and labour. Go to the National Gallery and examine with care the picture of *Arnolfini di Lucca and his Wife*; look at the candelabra, the mirror, the amber necklace hanging on the wall, at all the details of the elaborate interior, and you will be filled with the same astonishment and bewilderment by this mysterious panel as by a work of nature itself. It looks as if it must have come forth and blossomed like a plant; no trace of human hands is visible.

Material beauty is to be met with, not only in Van Eyck, but also, in varying degrees, in all the artists of the fifteenth century. It was the little Dutch painters, I believe, who preserved longest the qualities of beautiful surface. I may mention in particular Van der Heyden and David de Heem, who passed their lives in laboriously painting, with an inconceivable perfection of surface, the former, landscapes and architecture, the latter, drops of water, flies, and butterflies, flowers and fruit. But it was also in Holland that material perfection received its most deadly blow from one of the greatest masters of all time—Rembrandt.

As regards material qualities, Rembrandt's early productions rival those of his famous contemporaries, Terburg,

¹ It is not only students and amateurs, as Mr. Fry thinks, who profit by this facility. Chardin, on being consulted as to the proper method of employing oil-paint, is said to have answered: "Lay on the colour till you get the effect you want."

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Metsu, Peter de Hoogh, Cuyp, &c. He employed indeed the same methods as they. Panels and fine canvases were prepared with a coat of white, so as to render them as smooth and even as a porcelain plate. The paints were very liquid, skilfully doctored with oils and copals, and applied with care. There were no thicknesses of paint; the solider portions in the high lights were obtained by means of successive layers, so as to prevent the appearance of any roughness or inequality of surface. Little by little, however, Rembrandt abandoned this perfect *métier*, and began to apply his paint thickly on his jewels and dresses. In proportion as his talent grows, we see his technique change, and his surfaces become coarser. At the end of his life, when he was producing his most famous masterpieces, the *Good Samaritan* of the Louvre, the *Syndics*, and the portraits of himself, his *empâtements* become enormous on faces, as well as on dresses and backgrounds; coloured oils darken his surfaces, he models his paint with his thumb, he rubs out with pieces of rag, he makes lines in the fresh colour with the handle of his brush, in a word, he manipulates his paints according to the dictates of his own caprice, and makes use of all the resources his genius can command. His drawings are executed in the same spirit. They are a mixture of every conceivable process—pen, pencil, water-colour, sanguine, Indian ink, &c., and he is in no way pre-occupied by the texture of his paper. In fact, the quality of his canvases was so alarming at close quarters that his popularity dwindled. One day Rembrandt is said to have called out to some one who was going up to one of his pictures to examine its surface: "Don't sniff my painting. It's dangerous." In like manner, Franz Hals, Rubens, and Van Dyck showed little concern for fine surface qualities. Their object was to instil life into their pictures; and anything that impeded the accomplishment of this desire was discarded.

The same development is also apparent in Italian oil painting. The earlier painters were especially concerned with the effort to obtain material beauty. Carpaccio and Mantegna are two examples of artists remarkable for the purity of their surfaces. Where, in the works of the most

"MERE TECHNIQUE": AN ANSWER

celebrated of the later Venetian colourists, will you find blues and whites and pinks to rival the freshness and charm of Carpaccio's, or reds and yellows to approach Mantegna's in depth and richness? Compare the blue and white robes of the monks who are fleeing from the lion in Carpaccio's picture in the Church of S. Giorgio at Venice with any of Titian's draperies, and you will acknowledge that for quality of tone the earlier artist is the superior. Examine carefully the reds in Mantegna's *Vierge de la Victoire* at the Louvre, and the cherries in the garland of the little St. George in the Accademia of Venice, and you will admit the impossibility of finding their equal in later works. Titian's canvases savour of oil. They seem to be impregnated with oil, and this gives them a viscous, greasy, and yellowish appearance. Moreover, the actual workmanship, the trace of the tool, is visible. We can see the painter's hand in his pictures; they no longer show that almost incorporeal beauty so remarkable in the works of earlier artists. If, then, a small fragment cut from one of Titian's skies can give us a suggestion of infinity, what subtle and mysterious emotions would not be evoked by a square inch of Mantegna's? As for Tintoretto, he had neither the time nor the inclination to impart fine surface-quality to his vast canvases. Was it he who taught Il Greco to despise a careful technique? It is related of this latter painter that one day, as a servant was sweeping his room, he called out, "Give me that!" and set to work painting with the broom. It would be difficult to push contempt for tradition further.

We come now to the artists of the nineteenth century. Beyond all doubt the most curious, from the point of view of technique, is Turner. We can follow in him the same transformation as in Rembrandt. At the beginning of his career, Turner's method of painting was careful and painstaking; but, as his talent developed, the purity of his *métier* became less, and at the moment when his personality had attained its full maturity, his technique was of the strangest. If we examine at close quarters his Venetian fantasias, or such a picture as *Rain, Steam, and Speed*, we find it impossible to distinguish anything but a

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

formless and incoherent mass of daubs, smears, and smudges. It is only when viewed from the proper distance that this magic daubing acquires eloquence and radiance.

In this slight historical sketch, I have attempted to show the gradual evolution of the material qualities of painting. The endeavour to meet the needs created by new conceptions is the cause of this incessant modification. It is not from ignorance that the artists of the present day adopt a technique so different from that of the old masters. What they have to say is different ; and they choose methods appropriate to their purpose. At the beginning of his life, Rembrandt was familiar with the beauties of surface ; and it was not from ignorance that he applied his genius to other modes of painting. Material perfection required too much time. He had need of a rapid technique for the execution of his new creation. A slow and laborious *métier* blunts emotion, paralyses gesture, turns to wood the flutter of a garment or the gleam of an eye. He had need above all of a varied technique, to render the effects of light, the *chiaroscuro*, the fleeting expressions, all the mystery and truth which go to make up the beauty of his pictures. When we look at one of his masterpieces *from the proper distance*, we see a living, varied, co-ordinated whole, and realise his immense superiority over his contemporaries. I know that many people think that the beauty of a picture should be equally evident at any distance, near or far, or even upside down ; but what would a musician say if we insisted on placing ourselves in the middle of the orchestra with our ear in the throat of the trombone, and then complained that his symphony was painfully ugly ? For artists who seek especially to represent life, movement, and mobility of expression, rapid execution is of the utmost importance. Delacroix used to pass several hours a day preparing his tones before beginning to work, so as to be able to paint more rapidly. When his palette was set with an infinity of shades in the scale of colour he wanted, he attacked his picture with fury ; and it was, no doubt, by the help of this method, that he was able to realise with such power his dramatic

“MERE TECHNIQUE”: AN ANSWER

conceptions, where the most vivid imagination is allied with the most complex colouring. Rubens' finest pictures were executed with almost inconceivable celerity. How should he have concerned himself with the material perfection of every square inch of his surface? Yet, for all this, if the canvases of that prodigious artist were done away with, there would be lost to us a whole world of artistic sensations, which he alone has explored and revealed.

The works of the great Venetian colourists are, as we have seen, less pure in quality and rare in tone than those of their predecessors; but there are few critics who would maintain that Titian's superb and ample gravity, Veronese's sumptuous magnificence, and Tintoretto's fierce and potent spirit are inferior to the cramped and simple-minded art of Carpaccio and Mantegna. They possess other qualities more striking to the imagination. When we look at one of their works, or indeed at any of the greatest masters such as Rembrandt, Rubens, Franz Hals, Velazquez, we are at once seized by the living reconstitution of the scene or person; all the movements are easy; the gestures and expressions and draperies, the skies and trees, instinct with life, are harmonised and fused; each portion of the picture is so admirably incorporated with the rest, that it is impossible to isolate any one without completely destroying the effect of the whole. “Give me mud out of the streets,” exclaimed Delacroix one day, “and I will make you a radiant Venus if you let me surround it with the colours I please.”

All these qualities have been obtained at the expense of beautiful surface. It is difficult to imagine any one of the great artists I have just mentioned letting himself down by a trap-door into a room hermetically closed so as to avoid the dust, and passing days and weeks in superposing thin layers of paint, in order to obtain the exquisite surface of a rose-leaf, a brass door-handle, or a white satin dress. Truth to tell, the little Dutch painters, interesting as they are from many points of view, have the power, with their monotonous perfection, of transforming animation to immobility. Compare the drops of water in David Heem's pictures with those in Rubens' *Mermaids* in the Louvre.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

The Dutchman's, though faultless as regards material quality, are made of glass, whilst those of the Flemish master, painted in an instant, quiver, liquid and translucent, as they trickle lightly over the skin.

For my part, I do not regret the loss of beautiful surface quality in the art of painting. How useless it is to persist in vain and desperate efforts to obtain with our unmanageable tools and coarse materials an approach to perfection of surface ! What picture can ever hope to rival the material beauty of thousands of natural objects—create the hue and texture of a bird's feather or butterfly's wing, the lustre of metal, the sparkle of crystal, the delicate veining of a leaf or shell ? Let the craftsman then cut and polish precious stones and rare metals, weave silken fabrics, inlay and juxta-pose one lovely substance with another ; let him thus use his science and his art in the pursuit of material beauty, and fashion, by means such as these, objects that shall delight the eye alone. But let him leave to painting the task—arduous enough—of creating works alive with the innumerable manifestations of the mind of man, works which, to quote one of our most penetrating critics, shall show us the “invisible by means of the visible.” This, I believe, is the direction in which painters should bend their efforts ; and if beautiful surface quality be found to impede the realisation of this ideal, let them reject it without hesitation or scruple !

We will not discuss the merit of modern French painters ; we are too near them to judge their works coolly. But we can at any rate say with certainty that they have attempted to show us things which the old masters could not or would not see—the sensation of light at all hours of the day, with its innumerable reflections and trembling vibrations, the fresh green of spring, the iridescent haze of morning mists, the most delicate shades and the most violent colours. They have indeed re-created the art of landscape painting. With such a programme a new technique was imperative. They are not, as Mr. Fry thinks, regardless of the *matière* of painting ; and, if they do not seek to imitate that of Titian or any other old master, we must in justice admit that it is

" MERE TECHNIQUE " : AN ANSWER

not because the subject leaves them indifferent. Desiring to reproduce pale tints, light blues, pure whites, pinks and greys, they have been obliged to forego, as far as possible, the use of oil, which when used abundantly turns colours yellow.¹ Nearly all modern French painters use absorbent canvases in order to obtain that *mat* surface which is so dear to them. Certain artists employ the *pointille* method, not because they are incapable of applying the colour smoothly, like a simple house-painter, as Mr. Fry imagines, but because, according to them, the luminous vibrations that they desire to paint can be best expressed by these little dots. Others, for similar reasons, use slashes; others, crossed and interwoven strokes. The colour, indeed, may be irregular, but it is not casually laid on. Neither should we say that the aim of modern painting, in France at any rate, is to represent objects with absurd and vulgar verisimilitude. Bad painters will do this in all ages; but though artists of our day draw their inspiration more directly from nature, in what sense can it be said that Claude Monet is more realistic than Van der Heyden and Canaletto or Manet than Velazquez and Franz Hals?

It is since the mystic date of 1830, Mr. Fry tells us, that there has arisen among French painters this disastrous indifference to beauty of surface, accompanied by a fatal ignorance of all the technical properties of their art. When Mr. Fry criticises artistic education in the Paris free studios and State schools, I am entirely with him. But it is impossible to judge of the artistic vitality of the country from the lifeless and insipid atmosphere which reigns within these academic walls, where professors and students alike seem hypnotised by those glittering baubles, the *Salon* medals and the classic *Prix de Rome*. If Mr. Fry had frequented the informal gatherings of young painters in private studios, cafés, and galleries, he would have heard enough animated discussion concerning the properties of pigments and canvases, mediums, grounds, and glazes, to convince him that, whatever else their faults—and these

¹ Rubens' admirable portrait of *Hélène Fourment and her children* at the Louvre, painted like a water colour in oils, has turned completely yellow.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

are not lacking—this important question of technique runs no danger of being ignored. During my student days, we should often have rejoiced the heart of Mr. Fry by our habit of looking at a picture at close quarters, and of going away without seeing it, if its *matière* happened to displease us. Many of us were sufficiently well acquainted with the methods of the past. During ten years, I made copies in the Louvre of pictures of different schools for the purpose of making myself familiar with the old masters' technique ; and I was far from being the only one. Nor have things changed. To this day, whenever I re-visit the Louvre, I still see as many eager young men, long-haired and shabby, fervently attempting to penetrate the mysteries of painting. It must, however, be admitted, that, of all the enthusiastic copiers I have known, not one has adopted a technique resembling that of the old masters. Without exception, they have chosen methods better suited to their personality and epoch, which, after all, are modern. Shall we, therefore, say that the study of the great masters' methods is useless ? By no means. Such a study helps us to a more profound comprehension of the master-pieces of art, and enables us to discover their essential and veritable beauty. It is traditional among French painters of every age and every school, and is perhaps even more ardently practised by the heterodox than by the Academic scholars of the Villa Medici, who copy chiefly from a sense of duty. I have seen a remarkably accurate copy of Raphael's *Belle Jardinière* by Delacroix ; and it is said that, all his life long, this great artist never sat down to paint without making a sketch from Poussin, or Raphael, or the antique. Degas and Gustave Moreau copied together for several years in Italy. At the age of forty, Degas did not disdain to copy Holbein's portrait of Anne of Cleves ; and I have myself heard him say : " If a young painter came to me for advice, I should tell him to copy the old masters for ten years, before making a single study from nature." I have been frequently struck by the contrast presented between the copiers of the Louvre and those of the National Gallery. In the celebrated London picture gallery, which I have very often had occasion to visit on students' days, I have never seen any

"MERE TECHNIQUE": AN ANSWER

copier save young ladies, who appear more interested in their conversation than in the pictures on the walls, old maids in search of an innocent distraction, or amateurs painting for their amusement. Not once has a really serious copy come beneath my notice; and this singular reflection occurs to me—in England, where the old masters are copied least, they are imitated most!

I cannot leave the subject of material beauty without speaking of the influence of time, which in many cases is exceedingly important. The action of the air, light, moisture, &c., produces enormous modifications in buildings, statues, pictures and other works of art. Ancient edifices are very different in colour and surface from what they were at the moment of their erection. Nearly all the old walls of Rome, originally built with white stone, are now black; bronze statues which have been exposed to the open air for some years turn a greenish colour by becoming oxidised; the charming iridescence on old Greek glass is the work of ages; even enamels do not resist the action of years, and grow old. Fortunately for our eyes, these alterations nearly always improve the appearance of works of art; and it is at the moment they are nearest to their end that they are the most beautiful. It is with considerable rapidity that pictures undergo modifications visible to a practised eye. After a few years, they lose their rawness; the touches of paint become smoother and flatter; the oil comes to the surface, and forms a thin golden film, which gives a slight enamel to the canvas. It is impossible to match exactly a tone in a picture painted a few years ago, because it is impossible to imitate the action of Time. If there existed at the present day a gilder who knew his craft as well as the gilders of the past, he would still be incapable of obtaining a gilding similar to that found on old frames and pictures, simply because the magnificent *patine* of Time is inimitable. We should, therefore, always remember that it is unjust not to make allowance for the beneficent handiwork of Time, when comparing works several centuries old with those that have just been produced—and that it is unwise to encourage artists to forestall

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

that handiwork themselves. I cannot do better than end my article with a quotation from one of Diderot's *Salons*, a work which I bring to the recollection of those who have forgotten how its pages teem with wise, witty, and singularly modern reflections. He is speaking of a picture by Chardin, which had been criticised as being inferior to his earlier works. " . . . Je suis sûr que, lorsque le temps aura éteint l'éclat un peu dur et cru des couleurs fraîches, ceux qui pensent que Chardin faisait encore mieux autrefois changeront d'avis. Qu'ils aillent revoir ces ouvrages lorsque le temps les aura peints. J'en dis autant de Vernet, et de ceux qui préfèrent ses premiers tableaux à ceux qui sortent de dessus sa palette.

" Chardin et Vernet voient leurs ouvrages à douze ans du moment où ils peignent ; et ceux qui les jugent ont aussi peu de raison que ces jeunes artistes qui s'en vont copier servilement à Rome des tableaux faits il y a 150 ans. Ne soupçonnant pas l'altération que le temps a fait à la couleur, ils ne soupçonnent pas davantage qu'ils ne verraient pas les morceaux des Carraches tels qu'ils les ont sous les yeux, s'ils avaient été sur le chevalet des Carraches tels qu'ils les voient. Mais qui est-ce qui leur apprendra à apprécier les effets du temps ? Qui est-ce qui les garantira de la tentation de faire demain de vieux tableaux, de la peinture du siècle passé ? Le bon sens et l'expérience."¹

SIMON BUSSY

¹ *Salon de 1767.*

A LEAGUE OF HEALTH

ONE of the great distinguishing characteristics of Englishmen is individuality ; and it is this characteristic that makes them such excellent colonists, and enables a single Englishman to rule with success in savage countries districts as large as Great Britain or larger. The Boer War seemed to emphasize the utility of individual action, and to show the importance of each soldier being able to act more or less upon his own initiative, instead of simply forming a unit in a regiment to obey blindly the orders of his Commanding Officer. But this very individuality, which is such a powerful factor in the success of Englishmen as colonists, is, to a certain extent, a disadvantage at home. The independence of various parts of our Government, and their want of co-operation together, sometimes leads to acts on the part of one or other which scandalize the nation and lessen the power and prestige of England abroad. Many useful objects, which are successfully carried out by foreign Governments, are left in this country to the private enterprise of individuals or societies ; and these, lacking in co-operation, carry on their work, it may be successfully, but with an expenditure of time, energy, and money, which is disproportionately great to the good which is effected. People are beginning to realize this in many quarters ; and efforts are being made, for example, to co-ordinate the action and expenditure of hospitals, so that, while each hospital retains its own autonomy, it is subjected to a certain amount of supervision and control by the authorities charged with the distribution of King Edward's Fund. But it is not hospitals alone that are working independently of one another, and sometimes, indeed,

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

adversely to one another. Each hospital desires relief for the sick poor, but is anxious that it should take place only through its own aid, and is sometimes even willing to divert the funds which might flow to others.

There are in this country a great many institutions working for the good of the people in all directions. Some, for example, are trying to lessen the evils which are undoubtedly due to alcoholism. Various ways of doing this commend themselves to different people. Some would like to instruct children in the evils of alcohol by explaining to them its deleterious effects upon the body, by showing them pictures of the morbid changes it produces in the organs of the body, or of the dreadful actions, the misery, madness, and death, which over-indulgence in it may cause. Others, again, consider such teaching as almost useless, and desire to remove the craving for alcohol by substituting good and appetizing food and non-intoxicating stimulants, such as tea, coffee, and cocoa. Others are trying to improve the physique of the rising generation by supplying gymnasia in town or country, by organizing associations for physical exercise, by providing amusement and occupation for growing boys and girls, by efforts to diffuse hygienic knowledge throughout the country, by visiting mothers in their homes and seeing that the children are properly fed, and by lessening the evils of overcrowding as far as they possibly can. The utility of such organizations, large and small, is enormously great ; and they are undoubtedly doing good work. But they are often working under the disadvantage of not knowing of each other's existence, still less of co-operating with each other. Although Æsop's Fables are less read now than they used to be, most people know the story of *The Old Man and the Bundle of Sticks*. On his deathbed he called his sons around him, and asked them to break a bundle of sticks which were strongly tied together. They all failed ; but when the band was untied and the sticks separated, they broke each with the greatest readiness.

The numerous organizations at present existing for furthering the physical welfare of the people, may be compared to the isolated sticks ; and what is wanted is a band to bind them all together. The proposed National

A LEAGUE OF HEALTH

League for Physical Education and Improvement is intended to fulfil such a purpose. It is not intended to displace any one of the organizations at present established, but first of all to find out what organizations there are, then to make them known to one another, to ascertain where the work of each is deficient, to find out how it can best be supplemented, and then to supply the deficiency. It is evident that such a League must consist of an immense number of local branches, each having a large amount of autonomy, although the whole of them would require to be co-ordinated by some central council. The details of management in each branch would be settled and carried out by its own Council ; but one or more delegates from these councils might meet and form a larger District Council ; and delegates from these again might form a General Executive Council. Between the District Councils and the General Executive Council, there might be intermediate bodies. For example, there might be a council for England, a council for Scotland, and a council for Ireland ; but the details of this question would require to be left for decision after the League was fully formed. The smallest branches might embrace a moderate sized parish, or several small parishes, hamlets, or villages ; a large parish might contain two or three branches. Each branch should have a President, Vice-President, and Secretary ; and everyone interested in the welfare of the people, men and women, should belong to it. Amongst the more important members would be, in the country, the school managers, parson or minister, the doctor and the schoolmaster, and in towns the Mayors or Provosts. Amongst the most important of all the members would be ladies, who would be willing to undertake, first of all to receive instruction so as to be able to instruct others, and then to visit houses and persons within the area assigned to them.

The work to be done is, of course, manifold, and would be of a different character in large manufacturing towns and in rural districts. It would, no doubt, be advantageous to have a register kept of all the women who are about to be confined ; and this might be done when they apply for the services of a doctor and midwife to attend them during

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

their confinement. After the registration, the case might be assigned to a lady in the district, who would visit the expectant mother, instruct her as to the disadvantages of continuing work right up to the time of confinement, show her what preparations she ought to make for the little stranger, and for getting her household work carried on during the period of her lying-in. In cases where the necessity of earning food might force the mother to continue work up to the very last, her circumstances might be enquired into, and some provision might be made, either from charity or from the rates, to provide food and care for some little time before and after confinement. When the baby arrived, the nurse and lady visitor would have to instruct the mother in regard to suckling, if possible, and in regard also to artificial feeding if the mother should prove unable to nurse. Both in country and in towns the difficulty of obtaining fresh milk in sufficient quantity would require attention by the League ; and here the intervention of such a powerful body, as it ought to be, might secure legislative enactments, which would ensure a proper supply of milk where individuals or even Corporations might be unable to obtain it. For milk requires supervision, not only from the time it leaves the cow but before ; and there would be difficulty in ensuring, excepting by legislative interference, the certainty that the cows would not be diseased, that the milk should be free from all contamination, and should be not only conveyed to towns in a pure state but distributed pure to small customers. Nor is it sufficient to determine that milk is not sour ; for the addition of preservatives to milk may give rise to evils greater even than that of sour milk.

Instruction of mothers in the feeding of children is an absolute necessity. In the Out-Patient Department of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, I found, as the result of many enquiries, that an ordinary rule of feeding was : "Mother a bit and a sup, and baby a bit and a sup," although the bit sometimes consisted of a red herring, and the sup of gin and water. I myself have known of a household being kept awake all night because a baby of three months had had cabbages for dinner. The results of such feeding cannot, I

A LEAGUE OF HEALTH

think, be better expressed than in the words of a poor woman :—" I have had thirteen children, and have buried them all except this one. I cannot understand how it came about ; for I never denied them anything they cried for." Such an enormous mortality as twelve out of thirteen is simply appalling ; and it must be remembered that the thirteenth very probably grows up weak and stunted, on account of its imperfect nutrition in early childhood. Every endeavour ought to be made to bind the family ties together ; but in some cases the necessities of life may force the mother to go out and work the greater part of the day, leaving a baby in the charge of a child perhaps not more than seven or eight years of age. In such cases, *crèches* may not only save the babies, but help them to grow strong and healthy. For somewhat larger children, Infant Schools and Kindergärten, and for bigger children Board Schools, may take in the children for a great part of the day.

The Board of Education, under its present able and energetic President, is doing much to arrange for the proper physical development of children in schools ; but everything is not yet done that requires to be done. We need a complete medical inspection of children when they enter school ; so that their tasks, physical and mental, shall not be allotted to them simply according to their age but according to their powers, whilst defects of sight, hearing, teeth, etc., shall be noted and remedied as far as possible. Physical exercises, however, do not by any means supply all that is wanted. The best physical exercise for a child is certainly play. Drill involves mental effort, and is useful as teaching obedience to the word of command. Practice with Swedish movements and light dumb-bells may develop the muscles ; but, to develop the child as a whole, to develop its lungs, its heart, and its nervous system, play is wanted—and for play we must have playgrounds. The great difficulty of obtaining playgrounds in towns is the expense ; but playgrounds are as necessary as schoolrooms, and should be regarded as an integral part of educational apparatus.

It is probable that more use at present might be made of schoolrooms and playgrounds if they were open after

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

school hours were over ; but in large towns there ought to be playing fields within fairly easy reach of the town, and with provision for passing the children to and from them at a very cheap rate or, in cases of necessity, free.

Increased physical exercise would almost certainly increase the children's appetites; and they would in all probability require more food. But all this is for the good of the country. I have heard it said that a great railway contractor chose his navvies for an important piece of work by setting all the applicants down in large sheds to a free meal. From amongst them he selected the men who ate most, because he knew that such men could turn out a larger amount of work than the others.

It is very important that nothing should be done to pauperize the people ; and it is very likely that those people who would have least care for their children would be most pleased and most ready to throw the whole burden of their up-bringing upon others. It is very important to avoid this, and to teach the parents that they have duties towards their children and towards the State, which they must fulfil. At present they are obliged to send their children to school ; and it is as much a part of their duty that they should not send them hungry as it is that they should send them at all.

The difficulty of feeding children at school would probably be best met by the luncheon bars or *cantines scolaires*, as Dr. Macnamara calls them. In country places these might be attached to the schools ; in towns, where the limited space of the schools might prevent this, municipal kitchens might be provided within easy distance of the schools. Either in school kitchens or municipal kitchens, nutritious, appetizing, and at the same time cheap food could be provided for the children, and a meal obtained on the presentation of a ticket. It is not advisable to give the children money to buy the meals for themselves, because they are naturally tempted to expend it on sweets or toys instead of upon a proper meal. Tickets could be sold to the parents ; and, in cases where they were unable to pay for them, tickets might be provided by charity or else by the rates. But in all cases, where it is possible, the parents should be obliged to purchase them. An enquiry into

A LEAGUE OF HEALTH

their circumstances and ability to pay, would form one of the functions of the League. The large quantities that could be cooked in such kitchens would afford the means, not only of teaching children to cook, but of tasting the food which they had themselves cooked—a very important point in cooking.

The Board of Education has already instituted Cooking classes in many schools ; but increased facilities for teaching are still required, and lessons in Cookery for mothers might be of great service. Here again, however, it must be noted that the teaching needs to be adapted to the necessities of the people. I have heard of a teacher who went down to a country place to give lessons in cooking. The lessons were no doubt admirable ; but she brought down her own stove with her ; and, when the people tried to carry out her instructions, they found that they could not do so, because they were not adapted to the grates or stoves which they possessed. Perhaps great good might be done by some benevolent person offering a large prize for the best design of a cheap stove for poor people, adapted both for teaching and for cooking. When castings were once made of such a stove, it might be sold at a very reasonable price, and would thus command a very extensive sale. This suggestion, which is not original, I commend to the notice of makers of stoves, who might supply them in the ordinary way of trade. But here also the service of the lady visitors would be required ; for they would be needed to call upon the people in their homes, and see that they really learnt how to cook, and applied their knowledge properly.

The amelioration of home life, and the provision of more attractive food, may do much towards lessening the temptation to drink ; but a craving for amusement no doubt exists, and must be met. Many men may wish to smoke a pipe and chat with friends after the day's work is over, even although their own homes may be comfortable and happy. For these the extension of clubs and lecture rooms should be fostered, whilst mothers' meetings, especially if associated with the schools, may do much to keep the mother informed of what her children are doing, and teach her how best to help them.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

A good deal of the poor physique observed, especially in large towns, may be attributed to the marriage of the parents at too early an age ; and this, again, is probably brought about in many cases by youths and girls being much thrown together because they have nothing else to occupy them. Clubs for the girls, gymnasia, swimming baths, exercise halls, and continuation classes for both, and rifle shooting for the young men, would tend to prevent too early marriages, would keep the boys and girls off the streets, and train them better for their after life. Therefore, the encouragement of all such agencies would form an important part of the work of the League.

This enormous work is evidently a national thing ; and the League which is to co-ordinate all the different agencies must necessarily be perfectly free from all limitation of political parties, of religious creeds, or of social position. It is so much a question of health, however, that the medical profession is evidently that which is best qualified to give an opinion regarding it ; and the list of adherents contains the names of most of the men who are either heads of corporations or who hold Court appointments. When the League becomes definitely incorporated, it is to be hoped that all medical men, without exception, may become members. Amongst the clergy may be noted, the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Dublin, the Primate of All Ireland, the Bishop of Ripon, who has taken a most active part in the movement, a number of other bishops, the Moderators of the Church of Scotland and of the United Free Church of Scotland, the Chief Rabbi, Bramwell Booth, Chief of the Staff of the Salvation Army, the Reverend F. B. Meyer President of the National Council of Free Churches. In Law, the Lord Chief Justice, the Attorney General, the Recorder of London, the Right Hon. R. B. Haldane, Sir John Macdonell ; the Lord Mayors of London, York, and Belfast, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, a large number of Mayors of towns. Amongst educational authorities are the Principals of the Universities of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Birmingham, and Cork ; Sir William Anson, Sir Henry Craik, Sir John Gorst, Dr. Macnamara, the present and past Headmasters of Eton,

A LEAGUE OF HEALTH

the President of the National Federation of the Teachers' Association. A number of distinguished scientific men, as well as members of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons have given their adhesion. Amongst the athletes are C. B. Fry, W. G. Grace, Eustace Miles, A. G. Steel, G. E. K. Studd, and Pelham Warner. It is evident, from this short selection out of a large list, that the proposed League is obtaining adherents from all sorts and conditions of men. A number of ladies have also joined ; but their list at present is so small, in comparison to that of the men, that it has not been published ; for it might appear just now as if ladies were to take quite a subordinate part in the movement, which would be very far indeed from the truth. It is to them we must look, perhaps even more than to the men, for the carrying out of the programme which the League proposes.

The work of the League is educational ; and, although a father may do much to train his boys, it is the mother who educates them, and it is on the mothers and ladies who train the mothers that our hopes for success must to a great extent rest. It is obvious that such a scheme requires a good deal of time for its elaboration ; but, during the past months, numbers of men who are interested in it have been preparing the ground, not in London alone, but in Aberdeen, Belfast, Birmingham, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, and Newcastle. A Council is now being formed ; and the League will probably be brought before the public at the meeting in the Mansion House during the summer of this year. It is to be hoped that, after its definite incorporation and presentation to the public, men and women of every class throughout the whole country will become members, that it will successfully co-ordinate all the agencies now acting for the good of the people, that it will help them and not hinder them in the least, and that every child will benefit by its establishment.

LAUDER BRUNTON

THE MANCHURIAN CAMPAIGN

THE present moment is one peculiarly suitable to a retrospect of the war in the Far East. There is a lull in the operations. That lull succeeds the first great defeat suffered by either party in the field. It marks (subject to that uncertainty which must always attach to war) the end of the first phase of the campaign : a phase which has covered fourteen months in time, has seen the destruction of the naval force of Russia in the Pacific and the surrender of the great fortress which she intended to erect at Port Arthur, and had already partially completed when the attack began.

It is a decisive moment for other reasons than these. Russia has just reached (or passed) the height of her domestic crisis ; we have seen the full effect of an unpopular war upon the mobilisation of her reserves ; we have just arrived at the period when the enrolling and training of her young recruits (a much easier affair than the calling up of reservists from their wives and families) has been accomplished. Finally, it is the moment when, if ever, the strain upon the credit of either combatant may interfere with the campaign, and when, if ever, the interests of international finance can impose peace. An enquiry into the nature of the war and of the present situation in Manchuria has, therefore, at this moment a more practical value than it would have had at any other time during the last twelve months. For on the subject of that enquiry depends some part of the fortunes of many, and the rearrangement of their foreign policy for all.

What is the present position ? What events have led up to it ? What does it promise for the future ? Upon the answers to such questions depends our judgment as to whether peace is possible, and as to what the nature of that

THE MANCHURIAN CAMPAIGN

peace may be. But before discussing the attitude of the armies in Manchuria it is necessary to digress for a moment in order to consider one element in the war of whose character we are more uncertain than of any other, and which must yet exercise, during the next few weeks at any rate, an influence which may be decisive. That element is the Russian fleet.

With regard to this fleet, it must first of all be remarked, how very little evidence we have on which to base our judgment of it. There is nothing in history comparable to the secrecy which either side has maintained with regard to the disposition of forces almost unprecedented in magnitude. And, though it was far easier for Asiatics in Asia to hold the secret from Europeans, yet, on the whole, it must be admitted that the Russian Government has been singularly successful in keeping hidden such knowledge as could have benefited its opponents.

What we know (April 15) with regard to the Baltic fleet may be very briefly summarised.

It is superior in numbers to the enemy it has to meet. There are upon either side four battleships of the newest type, the Japanese having presumably lost two in the course of the war. The Russians have three of varying age and capacity attached to the first squadron, and four more following as reinforcements, of which three are small and slow, and two of these old. The Japanese have, besides their battleships, a squadron of six, or possibly seven, modern and excellent armoured cruisers. The Russian squadron is here unequal in numbers (it has but three) and in efficiency as well; as to unprotected cruisers, it has but a third of Japan's, and even these are lacking in homogeneity. The advantage of speed is all with the Japanese; and that for two reasons. First, because their ships have been recently docked and cleaned, while the greater part of the Russian ships have been at sea for six months.¹ Secondly, because the slowest units of the Japanese are much faster than the slowest units of the Russians. The Japanese, therefore, have the choice of action; they can accept or refuse battle as they choose; they can harass—if

¹ The newest Russian ships, however, are sheathed.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

they prefer to harass—and not be harassed themselves in return. If a battle is joined, they can keep at long range, and if ever their small force of battleships appears in danger they can retire. Again, the Japanese have excellent naval bases upon which to rest, while the Russians are compelled to do all their coaling at sea, and are accompanied by a great number of unarmoured units of supply. Were an action to turn against them, or even to be indecisive, they have no refuge but the one port of Vladivostock. Finally, the Japanese crews have been in action, and are now highly trained. The Russians have not been in action ; a certain proportion of the officers have received no training at sea, save that which they have obtained upon this one cruise.

Though nothing but these broad facts are known, they are sufficient to indicate the overwhelming advantage which the Japanese have at sea. A mere superiority in numbers is nothing compared with inferiority in speed, in lack of base, in impediment through non-combatant units, and, above all, in the training and efficiency of one's *personnel*.

Nevertheless, it will probably be decided, when the history of the war comes to be written, that the Russian Government was well advised in sending out this force to the Far East. It is a gambler's chance ; but, if that chance should by any accident turn in favour of the Russians, Japan is at once and finally defeated. The cruise of the Baltic fleet has been described as a forlorn hope ; the metaphor is not quite exact. A forlorn hope is associated with some difficult defensive action on land ; it is not attached to the idea of victory. There are three possible results, if the two fleets meet. The Russian fleet may be overwhelmed in a single action, and placed in a position of such inferiority that Russian naval power can no longer count in the war. The action may result in the destruction of a great portion of the non-combatant impediments of the Russian fleet and of some of their less valuable fighting units, but may inflict, at the same time, such damage upon the Japanese that the remnant of their forces cannot hold the sea again. A third result may be that, after a long running action, during which no great damage shall be suffered upon either side, the Russian fleet shall attain Vladivostock. As for a

THE MANCHURIAN CAMPAIGN

fourth result, the defeat of the Japanese and their destruction by the Russian fleet, it appears, for reasons that we have already pointed out, impossible.

Of the three possible results it will be seen that two would greatly modify the scheme of the war in favour of Russia. Any result, other than the destruction of the whole Russian force, would put into jeopardy two things which are as vital to Japan in this war as air and food are to the life of a man. These two things are external commerce, and the easy and rapid communications of the army on the mainland with the Japanese Islands.

The extent to which Japan depends upon her imports during this war has not been properly recognised in England. The secrecy which surrounds the whole of the campaign has never been more effectively preserved than in connection with this matter. It is impossible to give figures, or to estimate the proportion of the Japanese requirements which must be supplied from abroad. But it is certain, both that they are very large in their quantity, and that, in their quality, many of them are necessities not to be replaced within the Japanese Islands. The slight interruption to commerce caused by the Vladivostock squadron in the early part of last year was enough to delay by many weeks the operations against Port Arthur ; and, so long as a Russian force remains undestroyed east of Singapore in the China Sea the rates of insurance on shipping will starve this source of supply.

Easy and rapid communication between Japan and the army on the mainland is so obviously necessary that it hardly needs mentioning. The whole strength of the Japanese has depended upon their numbers, and upon the way in which (as was proved in the Russian cavalry raid) they could denude their land communications of depots and of men. Their railway material, their ammunition, and, until lately, all their food, has been passing in a continual stream from the Japanese Islands to Manchuria, as have also all their reinforcements of men. The prisoners they have taken, and their own wounded, have passed back with equal facility. They have not been hampered, as the Russians have been, with great depots and hospitals, maintained with

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the utmost difficulty at the end of a long line of single railway. But once suppose the sea doubtful and the Japanese campaign is halted. Their communications become even more difficult than is the thin line which supplies the Russian army. True, as we shall see in a moment, they can now feed themselves with greater facility than they could before the battle of Mukden ; but their ammunition, the excretion of their loss, the replacement of their damaged artillery, and their stream of reinforcement, will all be seriously disturbed, if even half the present Russian force can reach Vladivostock.

It is very probable that, before these lines appear, the issue will be decided ; and we have shown what exceptional fortune or skill must favour the Russians if they are to escape annihilation. Let us return to the story of what has happened on land.

Some eighteen months ago, before the war broke out, Japan, with a large army, well trained and peculiarly suited to the requirements of the Far East,¹ was watching the gradual advance of a European Power in her neighbourhood. Japan had determined to stop this advance before it became formidable. The Russian fleet was not yet equal to the Japanese fleet in those waters ; but it was being reinforced. The Russian forces upon land were insignificant.² The fortifications of Port Arthur had not approached completion ; and the Japanese Government had evidently determined that it would be necessary to spring before the enemy was prepared. We all know what followed. The Russian fleet was attacked and put into a position of hopeless inferiority, after the rupture of diplomatic relations but before a formal declaration of war. Whether the Russian code of signals had been obtained by the enemy or no, and whether the Russian telegram to the Variag were intercepted or no, we cannot tell, for the accusation has not yet been defended ; but, at any rate, a superiority at sea was determined for Japan before the war

¹ Especially in its method of transport, in its food, and, as will be seen later, in its artillery.

² At the most 60,000 men and 150 guns to hold the lines of communication and to put into the field. Of these at least a third were sent to Port Arthur immediately after war broke out.

THE MANCHURIAN CAMPAIGN

on land began. For some reason that has never been determined, the Japanese did not strike at once across the Liao-Tung peninsula. They did not isolate Port Arthur till the early summer ; and this fortress, which was without adequate defence, ammunition or provisions, was hastily re-inforced. To complete the fortifications was of course impossible in the time ; but all was done that could be done, and a place that should have been able to hold out indefinitely had it been fully equipped was at least in a situation to stand something of a siege. It is evident that, under circumstances of this kind, the heavy gun ammunition would certainly make default, and that the garrison would probably be insufficient. But it is astonishing that so much was done ; and it still remains inexplicable that the enemy should have allowed it to be done.

At the line of the Yalu, a month later at Nanshan, a fortnight later still at Wa-Fang-Ku, and yet a fortnight later on the 1st of May, in the passes of the mountains south of the Manchurian plain, the weight of the Japanese forces had driven in such resistance as the Russians could offer, had isolated Port Arthur, and forced the Russians from the coast. New-Chwang was occupied in early August ; already the mountains immediately south of Liao-Yang had been occupied, and an attempt to retake their passes in July had failed. Through all this time (that is until early in August) the campaign had proceeded upon the lines laid down by the Japanese General Staff. All had been foreseen, all exactly provided for ; and all had been successful to the very measure of the success anticipated. It was with the beginning of the month of August that the campaign took on a new phase, to which we owe the continuance of the war and the puzzle which it still presents.

Until this moment the Russian reinforcements had been quite insufficient to deal with the flood of the Japanese Army. There were perhaps, at the opening of March, 1904, 80,000 men east of Lake Baikal. Every effort made by the Russians during the next two months was directed to the garrisoning and provisioning of Port Arthur. It is doubtful whether, in the middle of July (the critical moment of which we are speaking), the total forces of

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the Russians outside the beleaguered fortress were more than 150,000 men. It was determined that Port Arthur should fall by an assault; its fortifications were known to be unfinished, its heavy ammunition insufficient, the whole of its armament incomplete, and, when it had fallen, long before the Russians could concentrate a sufficient army in the Manchurian plain, they were to be surrounded by an advance eastward from the Liao-Tung peninsula and southward from the advanced base of the Korean advance at Feng-Hwang-Cheng.

The capture of Port Arthur and a subsequent decisive battle in the Manchurian plain would have ended the war in the summer. But the plan miscarried. It miscarried because the resistance of Port Arthur was prolonged beyond all calculation. The assault which was to have decided the fate of the fortress was delivered in the beginning of August and was repelled. That an assault was the method still determined on, is proved by the fact that after some days' waiting to recuperate, the enemy again attempted the same feat; it was renewed again at the end of that month, and regular siege operations did not begin until after a *fourth* assault had failed.

Meanwhile, this unexpected power discovered in the Russian defenders of Port Arthur led to the failure of the Japanese before Liao-Yang. In strict theory, the Japanese should have waited until the first part of their plan was achieved, before attempting the second. But in war there are many things which interfere with such theoretical calculations. There is the temper of the people at home; there is the financial strain; and the move against Kuropatkin was determined on before Port Arthur had fallen. It was with the last days of August, by which time Kuropatkin had accumulated along that fine thread of communications perhaps 180,000 men and some 500 to 600 guns, that the great battle was engaged. We all know what followed. The enveloping movement failed, the Russians saved their artillery, left in the hands of the enemy thirteen prisoners, and postponed once more the issue of the campaign. After this check, the Japanese fell back upon the original plan. They determined to await

THE MANCHURIAN CAMPAIGN

the fall of Port Arthur before re-taking the offensive. To this they were led, not only by the lesson of Liao-Yang, but also by these considerations : that the recruits for 1904 could not be trained until the middle of the winter, and that it was evident that a successful attack upon the Russian position could not be undertaken until their own superiority in numbers was more pronounced. They waited, therefore, for the autumn reinforcement from Japan, and for the further reinforcement of eighty to a hundred thousand men that would reach them when Port Arthur had fallen.

Kuropatkin did not give them time wherein to mature their plans. In the first days of October, a month after his successful retreat from Liao-Yang, he determined upon an advance. The two armies were perhaps at this moment approximately equal, for many men had been detached from the Japanese army to replace the enormous losses in front of Port Arthur. It was the Russian General's plan to attack the Japanese right, in the mountains, to force it back, and, if possible, to cut its communications with Corea, and with every source of supply except that coming from the Liao-Tung peninsula and New-Chwang. He desired to make the seaports feed at once both the army in front of Port Arthur and the army in front of his own lines, and, depending on the strain so suffered, he hoped to break the Japanese army that faced him. Kuropatkin failed in his turn. His advance through the mountains was rapid, bold, and well conceived ; but his artillery was not proper to the work in hand. It arrived too late ; for the Russian gun, though superior in itself to the Japanese, was too heavy, and, by the time Kuropatkin could bring his artillery forward, reinforcements had reached the Japanese right. The attack, therefore, failed, and, with it, the whole scheme of Kuropatkin. He was compelled to a general retreat ; and, after a fortnight of the most desperate fighting, the Russians found themselves very much where they had been before, along the line of the Shaho, having lost some 40 guns to their opponents' 14, and having suffered perhaps an equal loss in men.

Nearly three months passed, during which the main armies stood watching one another. With the end of

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

December, Port Arthur fell ; and the Russians knew that they would now have to face the final attack of the Japanese forces. That long plan which had matured six months later than the general expectation, and which had, therefore, cost the attacking party at least fifty million pounds more than it had calculated for, was now about to be put into operation. Japan had received her autumn recruits, the lines in front of Mukden had further received the guns, and the veterans hitherto detained in front of the great fortress ; and an army of over 400,000 but under 500,000 men, with from 1,500 to 1,700 pieces of artillery, would soon be ready to strike.

Before it struck, a disastrous reconnaissance was undertaken on the Russian right. The Russian Army covered a front of close on eighty miles, and was divided into three great sections, each approximately equal in strength. That on the right, or west, was under the command of General Grippenbergh. He was ordered to feel his way forward, to find what strength the Japanese had in the plain, and perhaps (though of this we are not certain) to push back, if possible, the Japanese left wing opposing him. The first movements were successful. The Russian advance, which had at first been tentative, became firm, and was even for a moment triumphant, till it met with the resistance that might have been expected at the fortified position of Sandepou. Against this Grippenbergh's army broke in vain. Its commander demanded reinforcements of the Commander-in-Chief ; but here, as in every previous case, the inferiority of numbers upon the Russian side was fatal to success. Kuropatkin could not reinforce Grippenbergh. Had he done so, his centre would have been weakened and might have been driven in. Oyama could reinforce the troops which were with difficulty holding Sandepou against an equal strength of victorious Russians. The Japanese reinforcements poured for thirty-six hours into the neighbourhood of Sandepou ; and Grippenbergh was thrown back with a loss of 10,000 men. But this loss was insignificant, compared with the full effect of the failure. The Japanese had now learned the numerical inferiority of the enemy, and could even estimate the total forces opposed to them.

THE MANCHURIAN CAMPAIGN

They knew that the Russians were now, and would be for some time to come, in no greater strength than about 270,000 men.¹ In other words they, the Japanese, disposed of much more than three men to the Russian two. They had but to bring up every unit at their command, and to attempt another enveloping movement that should not fail as Liao-Yang had failed, but should, this time, finish the war. The attempt to achieve this enveloping movement will be called in history the Battle of Mukden.

Victors always exaggerate their victory, and the defeated always exaggerate their defeat ; but it is possible, by comparing even the scanty official evidence on the Russian side with the still more scanty evidence upon the Japanese, to appreciate what followed.

It was upon the 25th of February that the first move was made by the Japanese right against the Russian left in the mountains. Whether this movement was meant to be a genuine turning movement, or a feint, will never be known ; for it is the characteristic of successful battles, that the failures in them are never remembered. At any rate the effort in the mountains failed ; and the next operation, which took place during the two last days of the month, was a furious attack upon the Russian centre. This attack also failed. Upon the 1st of March, the third chance—a turning movement of their own left against the Russian right—was begun by the Japanese. For three days it proceeded with slight but regular success. On the 3rd of March, the advantage of the interior lines held by Kuropatkin began to be seen. Though the whole front was over eighty miles in length, and though he was opposed to an enemy greatly superior to him in numbers, the concavity of his front at this moment of the battle enabled him to re-inforce his right with sufficient rapidity. A vigorous Russian counter-offensive was attempted ; and it was evident, from that day onwards, that the enveloping movement of

¹ Apart from their experience in the battle, the Japanese were enlightened by an interview which the imperfect control of the Russian Government over the Press permitted to be published. General Gripenberg gave his forces at 65,000 men. This, multiplied by perhaps three for the three armies, and adding the 70,000 reserves, account for about, or rather less than, 270,000 men.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the Japanese would not be successful. It is in the essence of an enveloping movement that it should be rapid, not only because it includes an element of surprise, but also because its success depends upon giving the enemy very little time to make up his mind whether to stand or to retire. During all the 4th of March, the Japanese advance continued upon this right wing of the Russians; but no guns or prisoners were taken, and the centre still held. On the 5th, the Japanese left army against the Russian right was at right angles to the centre; but their pivot point at Machiapu was still in danger, and the blunder of Kuroki at Liao-Yang was within an ace of being repeated. The Russians kept both their right and their centre firm, and, on the 6th and 7th of March (the 9th and 10th days of the great battle) numerous Japanese prisoners were brought into Mukden. During the whole of this 10th day, however, the Japanese superiority in numbers told with increasing force; and, though the Russian position could not be broken, the Japanese line kept on extending more and more towards the north, and threatening to surround the Russian right wing. In the night between the 7th and 8th of March, Kuropatkin determined—somewhat too late—to retreat. He withdrew his centre; and, on the 8th, the whole Russian army was in movement northwards. The retreat continued all through the 9th (that is the 12th day of the battle), and, throughout that and the succeeding days, the most desperate attempts were made to cut off the Russian retreat. They were partially successful. Though the resistance of the Russian right prevented decisive disaster, and though the Japanese were never able to get across the railway or the Mandarin road in a permanent fashion, yet they shelled these at long range, and, in at least one case, intercepted a retreating column and captured it. On the 12th, the Russian army had effected its retirement; and, from that day onwards, the retreat was virtually unmolested.

In estimating the results of this action, we must distinguish between the military and the political; and we must rigidly exclude from the evidence before us, the vague appreciations and rhetorical adjectives of correspondents and despatches. When the Japanese Commander-in-Chief

THE MANCHURIAN CAMPAIGN

tells us, on the 10th, that "the enveloping movement is completely successful," we must remember that the despatch contains an untruth. When a St. Petersburg correspondent, vouched for by *The Times*, tells us that the Russians "lost 500 guns," we must set it down for an absurd mistake. But, in spite of these exaggerations and untruths, we can get at the truth approximately. The Japanese have officially returned the living prisoners fallen into their hands at 40,000 ; and, as the Russians have not contradicted this, the figure must be accepted. We must also accept the number of 60 guns of all calibres, from machine guns to siege pieces, which fell into the hands of the Japanese, though we cannot tell how many Japanese guns were destroyed and put out of action. The Russian official figures give 35,000 wounded before the retreat began : that is, while the Russian army was still successfully standing on the defensive, and while the Japanese operations consisted of a series of expensive assaults. To this 35,000 of the Russians, we must add 15,000 for the two days of the retreat alone, during which the Japanese losses (which must hitherto in the nature of things have been much higher than the Russians) would have been slight. Putting everything together, and taking the most probable estimate, it would seem that, of an army of 270,000 men or thereabouts, Kuropatkin mustered at Tie-ling, and handed over to Linievitch, 180,000, or possibly at the most 200,000 men, losing in dead and wounded, and unwounded prisoners, at least 70,000 men. He would seem also to have saved his artillery, with the exception of about 60 guns, five per cent., that is, of the total pieces under his command. He may have inflicted upon the enemy a loss equal, or perhaps slightly superior, to his own, but differing in this important particular, that this loss included but an insignificant number of prisoners, while his own loss included a very great number ; and, most important of all, the end of the whole series of operations was upon his side a disastrous retreat, and, upon that of the enemy, a victorious, though not unchecked advance.

A further military result, and one of great consequence, is this : that the Battle of Mukden has driven the Russian army from a fertile and thickly populated, into a barren

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

region. Before the battle, the Russians could not only depend upon the resources of the plain in the immediate neighbourhood of Mukden, but also upon the very considerable source of supply represented by the Sin-Min-Ting road. Even as far north as Tie-ling, it was possible to count upon Chinese produce. Once the Russian army was north of this point, nearly all its supplies of food depended upon the railway and the depots to the north of its position.

In any further attempt the Russians may make against the Japanese positions in Manchuria, they are, therefore, handicapped by an extreme anxiety for their commissariat. Their opponents, on the contrary, are now partly independent of their communications for food. It is an advantage which should make it increasingly difficult for them to be ousted from the positions they occupy, so far as the land campaign alone is concerned.

It is customary, in modern fighting, however insignificant may be the combat, to talk of "the lessons taught by the war." The habit has been carried to a ridiculous excess; and, though this struggle is one of great magnitude, and though it is the first in which modern conscript armies have met, it is wiser to wait for its close, and for the accurate and debated analyses that will follow, before attempting to draw theoretical conclusions from the fields of Manchuria. It will be impossible to draw them wisely, until experts who have also been eye-witnesses of the fighting, shall have given the world their evidence.

Moreover, the continental armies were already so well trained in their manœuvres, and the debatable points of their profession had been so exhaustively discussed among their experts, that few doubtful points remained. Outside a small group of journalists and politicians who, at the end of the campaign in South Africa, formed fantastic theories to please their readers and the electorate, no one doubted that men would meet in a modern battle, that the bayonet retained its value, that a preponderance of artillery would be a governing factor, that assault could be pressed, though it should involve losses of 30 or 40 per cent., and that permanent fortifications were capable of indefinite defence if they were properly manned. The Manchurian campaign

THE MANCHURIAN CAMPAIGN

has surprised no one in these respects, save the few who were bold enough to recast all the teaching of the last thirty years, with a view to the circulation of ephemeral literature.

There is, however, one doubtful point which the war in the Far East appears to have settled : the debate between the lighter and the heavier field-piece. The schools were evenly balanced ; no object-lesson had, until this last year, been provided. On the one hand, it was maintained that a piece of long range, firing a heavier shell, must outweigh a lighter opponent, and must win the artillery duel with which an action would commence ; on the other hand, it was pointed out that the weight of the carriage was increased roughly as the *square* of initial velocity, and directly with the weight of the projectile, and that a small superiority in range was, therefore, purchased at a terrible expense in draught. It was urged by the partisans of a light field-piece, that even a high initial velocity was soon spent, and that at practical ranges it was of slight advantage, while the flat trajectory it ensured, essential as it was to small arms, was of little value to artillery.

The Manchurian campaign has given a final argument for the light gun. The Japanese gun was less of a weapon than the Russian ; and it was no better handled ;¹ but it was lighter. It could more rapidly take and change cover. It could more effectually follow up the advance of infantry in the varying movements of the field. The Russian gun was destroyed at Wa-Fang-Ku ; it could not come into action at Motien-ling ; it was late on the Tai-tse, and so lost the battle of the Shaho. The light gun has won.

Our "Committee of Defence," or whatever it is called, has given us the heaviest gun—by far the heaviest gun—in Europe.

HILAIRE BELLOC

¹ The weights of the projectiles are as 12 to 13 (6 kilogrammes to 6·5) ; the initial velocities as 5 to 6 (490 metres to 583), and no less than *a third* of the Japanese artillery is in mountain guns of an initial velocity of but 260 metres !

THE OPTIMISM OF BROWNING AND MEREDITH

BROWNING and Meredith are both optimists. That is a proposition too obvious for argument. The word Optimism is, however, so elastic, and embraces so many and various shades of meaning, that the bare use of it conveys but little information. At the outset, therefore, a distinction must be drawn between optimism of feeling and optimism of thought. On the one hand, there is an emotional attitude of buoyancy and expansion, and, on the other, a philosophical view of the universe. Logically these two things are distinct, however true it may be that psychologically they are connected. It is with optimism as a theory, and not as a constitutional tendency, that this paper is exclusively concerned.

Even when thus restricted, however, the term remains ambiguous. Under it there may be distinguished at least four divergent philosophical opinions ;

- (1) that the total amount of good in the universe, either at present or on the whole, exceeds the total amount of evil :
- (2) that evil is subordinate to good, in the sense that all evil can be shown to conduce to some good result :
- (3) that good and evil are at present in conflict, but that evil will ultimately be overcome and disappear ;
- (4) that the universe is completely good, and that evil is a mere illusionary appearance.

Under these four heads, I shall try to examine and compare the philosophic outlook implicit in the poetry of

THE OPTIMISM OF BROWNING AND MEREDITH

Browning and Meredith respectively. Before, however, that task can be attempted, a fundamental objection needs to be overcome. It may be, and indeed is, held by some writers of authority, that any attempt to isolate the reflective elements in poetry from their emotional setting is foredoomed to failure :

“ Song is not Truth nor Wisdom, but the rose
Upon Truth’s lips, the light in Wisdom’s eye.”

The thought and the feeling, it is said, constitute an organic whole, which cannot be divided without ruin to its essential character. Save for the words, the tune is idle ; save for the tune, the words are cold and dead.

If this be so, our attitude towards poetry should be receptive and not critical. Attention should be focussed upon the whole as a whole, and not upon the logical links by which the parts are held together. To attempt to wrest from poetry the element of pure meaning is not to analyse, but to destroy it :

“ Do not all charms fly
At the mere touch of cold philosophy ?
There was an awful rainbow once in heaven :
We know her woof, her texture : she is given
In the dull catalogue of common things.
Philosophy will clip an angel’s wings ! ”

Or, as a more recent writer, the late Dr. Martineau, has put it, “ under the torture of analysis, that great engine of logical power, beauty gives up the ghost and dies.” Poetry, in short, from the nature of the case, cannot be *vivisected*.

This, no doubt, is true ; but it is not the whole truth. The ideas of a poem resemble, as it were, the dry bones round which the living reality is somehow mysteriously woven. Anyone who, in search for the secret of life, should pass to and fro among his friends in the spirit of an anatomist, would, indeed, be a comic—and a tragic—spectacle. But to analyse always is one thing, and to analyse sometimes, quite another. Poetry is much more than, and wholly different from, its dry bones ; and yet, on

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

fit occasion, to study the configuration of these is not necessarily an occupation to be frowned on.

So far in general justification of attempts to distil the meaning out of poetry. It remains to enquire whether, in the case of the two poets who form the subject of this paper, any special difficulties have to be encountered. So far as Meredith is concerned, the answer is clearly in the negative. His attitude is frankly didactic. Poetry to him is a vehicle for the expression of his reflections upon life and duty. If, therefore, any scheme of philosophy can be extracted from his writings, there need be no hesitation in treating that scheme as his own. With Browning, however, the case is different. On more than one occasion he has protested, both in poetry and in prose, against the practice of attributing to himself the opinions expressed by his characters. These opinions, he declares, in the preface to *Pauline*, "are always dramatic in principle, so many utterances of so many imaginary persons, not mine"; and in *House and Shop*, written much later, the same protest is repeated. In view of so explicit a caution, it cannot be assumed that even those opinions which occur in the mouths of characters to whom they are not natural, are endorsed by the poet. For there is often a cleavage between what a person does believe, and what he would like to believe; and, in such a case, he may be tempted, especially if writing in dramatic form, to let his imagination play about the good rather than the true, and to represent in his writings the universe, not of his knowledge, but of his desire. In some degree, this was probably the case with Browning. At all events, we cannot rule out the possibility in the same absolute way that we can in regard to Meredith. It is well, therefore, to recollect that the sharp contrasts of view which appear in the works of the two poets might be softened in an indefinite degree if we could compare the men themselves.

With this caution in mind, we may proceed to our main problem. What is the relation towards the various forms of philosophic optimism displayed in the poetical works of Browning and George Meredith?

In the first place, neither of them tries to blind himself

THE OPTIMISM OF BROWNING AND MEREDITH

to obvious facts. *Primâ facie*, they both recognize, in the world of external experience, that vast circle of pain and failure and doubt, which to Newman was the source of so eloquent a grief. "I apprehend," says Browning, "the monstrous fact" of evil. There is

"Evil and good irreconcilable,
Above, beneath, about my every side."
(*Francis Furini.*)

To Meredith, the sadness in life, and the bitterness of death, are no whit less vivid :

"Her ebbing adieu, her adieu !

The word of the world is adieu :
Her word, and the torrents are round,
The jawed wolf-waters of prey.
We stand upon isles, who stand :
A Shadow before us, and back,
A phantom the habited land.
We may cry to the Sunderer, spare
That dearest ! he loosens his pack.
Arrows we breathe, not air.
The memories tenderly bound
To us are a drifting crew,
Amid grey-gapped waters for ground.
Alone do we stand, each one,
Till, rootless as they, we strew
Those deeps of the corselike stare
At a foreign and stony sun."

A Faith on Trial.

In the face of these pessimistic premises, what precisely for our poets does optimism mean ? That form of it, which merely states that the total of evil is less than the total of good, *statistical* optimism, if one may so say,—does not seem especially to interest either of them. It is with the other three forms that their writings chiefly deal.

To begin with, they are both optimists in the sense of holding that evil conduces to some good result. Both

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

insist that conflict and struggle are necessary factors in the development of character. Even, therefore, though bad as ends, they are good as means. Thus Meredith writes :

“ Behold the life at ease ; it drifts.
The sharpened life commands its course.

Contention is the vital force.”—*Hard Weather*.

And Browning, in the same strain :

“ We garland us, we mount from earth to heaven,
Just because exist what once we estimated
Hindrances, which better taught, are helps we now
confess.”

And again, in *A Death in the Desert* :

“ And as I saw the sin and death, even so
See I the need yet transiency of both,
The good and glory consummated thence.”

Optimism of this order, though it does not logically imply, is very apt to pass into, that third variety which looks to the ultimate triumph of good over evil : and, in the case both of Browning and of Meredith, it is, in fact, carried forward to this consummation. But the manner in which the two poets picture to themselves that far-off divine event is not the same. For Browning, the final victory of good is intimately bound up with a belief in the survival of personality after death. For Meredith, on the other hand, the victory belongs, not to the individual, but to humanity at large, and is proclaimed in company with a definite rejection of the doctrine of personal immortality.

I propose to illustrate this difference of view by a few quotations.

There is a well-known passage at the beginning of *The Ring and the Book*, in which Browning, addressing the spirit of his wife, voices his hope of an eventful reunion :

“ Never let me commence my song, my due
To God, who first taught song my gift of thee,

THE OPTIMISM OF BROWNING AND MEREDITH

Except with bent head and beseeching hand
That still, despite the distance and the dark
What was again may be ; some interchange
Of grace, some splendour, once thy very thought,
Some benediction anciently thy smile."

For him, beyond the river of death the country is not undiscovered. Rather, he believes of it, that whatever of knowledge, or of character, or of Love, has been gained in the battle of life, will there live on in every individual soul :

" O lover of my life, O soldier saint,
No work begun shall ever pause for death,
Love will be helpful to me more and more
I'the coming course, the new path I must tread
My weak hand in thy strong hand, strong for that."
—*The Ring and the Book (Pompilia)*.

Because he regards earthly life as a mere stage in a journey—a training ground and pupil's place—his grief is small at the leaving of it. " I count," he says,

" Life just a stuff
To try the soul's strength on, educe the man."
—*In a Balcony*.

" So take and use thy work :
Amend what flaws may lurk
What strain of the stuff, what warpings past the aim !
My times be in thy hand !
Perfect the cup as planned,
Let age approve of youth and death complete the same !"
—*Rabbi Ben Ezra*.

For Meredith, on the other hand, so far as the individual is concerned, death closes all. The dream of immortality is a symbol conjured of fear and hope. Wisdom is stern, and bears no promise in her hand. No :

" Cry we for permanence fast,
Permanence hangs by the grave ;
Sits on the grave green-grassed,
On the roll of the heaved grass-mound."
—*A Faith on Trial*.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Not differently from any other fruit or child of Nature, the individual human spirit comes from the void and returns to it again :

“ The pine tree drops its dead ;
They are quiet as under the sea.
Overhead, overhead,
Rushes life in a race,
As the clouds the clouds chase ;
And we go,
And we drop like the fruits of the tree,
Even we,
Even so.”—*Dirge in Woods.*

This opposition of view concerning human immortality affects fundamentally the content of the two poets' optimistic creeds. In Browning's view, the victory of good, when it comes, will be shared by each several human soul. In the attainment of general good there will be no loss of private good ; but rational self-interest, equally with rational benevolence, will find its satisfaction. Consequently, there is no hesitation, at the close of life, for Gerard de Lairese to express

“ Heart's satisfaction that the past indeed
Is past, gives way before life's best and last,
The all-including future.”

For whence should regret come, if

“ There shall never be one lost good ! What was good
shall be good as before ;
The evil is null, is nought, is silence implying sound ;
What was good shall be good, with, for evil, so much
good more ;
On the earth the broken arcs ; in the heaven the perfect
round ! ”
—*Abt Vogler.*

In Meredith's version of the third variety of optimism there is not this concurrence between the individual and the universal end. There is in it no promise that he that sows in tears to-day will be among those that hereafter reap in

THE OPTIMISM OF BROWNING AND MEREDITH

gladness. The City of God will, indeed, descend from the clouds ; but we shall not rise up to welcome it. Rather :

“ The dream of the blossom of Good
Is your banner of battle unrolled,
In its waver and current and curve

With the hopes of my offspring enscrolled : ”

—*A Faith on Trial*.

“ The young generation ! Ah, there is the child
Of our souls down the Ages ! to bleed for it, proof
That souls we have.”—*The Empty Purse*.

It is among a far-off perfected humanity, known to us only through imagination, that this blossom, in whose fragrance we shall not share, will come to flower. Our private end will not be realised, rational self-interest not satisfied. The good of Meredith's optimism is exclusively *others'* good. Then—not now—

“ *Then* the meaning of Earth in her Children behold ;
Glad eyes, frank hands and a fellowship real,
And laughter on lips as the bird's outburst
At the flooding of light.”—*Ibid*.

The general drift of this conception is, of course, sufficiently obvious. It remains, however, a serious question, by what process of thought the general good in the future can be regarded as complete, if there is involved in it any loss of private good. If self-regarding desires are considered, within limits, to be reasonable, is the future perfection of the universe compatible with a doctrine of individual annihilation, by which the satisfaction of an enormous number of them is absolutely precluded ? Is it reasonable, in short, to speak of a destined disappearance of evil, and, at the same time, to postulate the everlasting continuance of this obviously evil fact ?

Meredith's answer is to deny the reasonableness of self-regarding desires. It is these themselves that he condemns as evil, and not the non-satisfaction of them. To him the “dragon of Self,” the “taint of personality,” the “proud

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

letter I " are devils to be exorcised. They are the source of the evil prejudice, which, condemning the world within experience, seeks to redress the balance by fabricating a new one beyond it. It is they that press the veil upon man's eyes, and hide from him the true "reading of Earth."

" He will not read her good,
Or wise, but with the passion Self obscures ;
Through that old devil of the thousand lures
Through that dense hood :
Through terror, through distrust ;
The greed to touch, to view, to have, to live :
Through all that makes of him a sensitive
Abhorring dust."—*Earth and Man*.

It needs but that the egoism in man be burnt away, and the fleetingness of the Ego will no longer be thought an evil. To render service will then be all that is desired ; and if our work lives on in the drama of others' lives, our own disappearance from the stage will trouble us not at all :

" Full lasting is the song, though he,
The singer, passes : lasting too,
For souls not lent in usury,
The rapture of the forward view."

—*The Thrush in February*.

It will still be true that the great Mother Earth devours her off-spring, that, from the individual destined to sacrifice, no cry can touch her, and no prayer appease :

" But read her thought to speed the race,
And stars rush forth of blackest night :
You chill not at the cold embrace
To come, nor dread a dubious might."—*Ibid*.

For love, disrobed of every selfish element will have come into life ; love, free from craving, seeking not its own, " flaming over I and Me " : and beneath the light of that crowning sun the shadow of death will have lost its form.

There remains the fourth variety of optimism, which declares that the universe is already perfect, or, in the

THE OPTIMISM OF BROWNING AND MEREDITH

words of a sentiment which the late Professor Sidgwick, in his *Practical Ethics*, attributes to "the general man," "that the world with all its evil is somehow good, as the outcome and manifestation of ideal goodness." To Browning, with his faith in an omnipotent and beneficent ruler of the universe, this view comes with commanding force. He is not even content with the doctrine which Mr. Bradley suggests when he writes (*Appearance and Reality*, p. 201), that "our one-sidedness, our insistence, and our disappointments may somehow all sub-serve a harmony, and go to perfect it." Rather, for him evil simply cannot be at all, neither in the whole, nor in any separate part. No ;

"Man's fancy makes the fault !

Man, with the narrow mind, would cram inside
His finite God's infinitude."—*Bernard de Mandeville*.

Standing beneath Guercino's picture at Florence, and praying for the angel's benediction, he dreams of the wonderful results that would follow the touch of that divine hand :

"I think how I should view the earth and skies
And sea, when once again my brow was bared
After thy healing, with such different eyes.
O world as God has made it ! all is beauty,
And knowing this is love, and love is duty.
What further may be sought for or desired ? "

—*The Guardian Angel*.

The view which Browning thus eloquently expresses is not required by Meredith's philosophy. In his writings, therefore, the fourth variety of optimism is not to be found.

It only remains briefly to criticise the series of opinions which these pages have been designed to expound. What are we to think of the philosophic doctrines thus presented ? Does either group of them fulfil the first requirement of philosophy, internal consistency ? There can be little doubt that the answer must be in the negative.

In Browning's *Weltanschauung*, the main difficulty is

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

introduced by his attitude towards the last variety of optimism. It is of a two-fold character. In the first place, the proposition that evil is illusory, strikes at the very root of morality. For obviously, if it is valid, all conduct, howsoever vicious and debased in appearance, is in reality good. In the second place, this proposition must, if sincerely held, render the second and third varieties of optimism, which, as we have seen, Browning strenuously maintains, wholly meaningless. Evil being declared unreal, it becomes futile to speak of it either as a means to good, or as in process of being overcome by good.

These results the poet, under the guidance of certain idealist philosophers, does, indeed, make an effort to avoid. His solution is to declare that Time is a mode of man. Though real to him, it is not real to God. Evil, however, falls within the domain of Time. Consequently, it is both real from the standpoint of men and unreal absolutely. Thus we are enabled, it might seem, to maintain without contradiction at once a vigorous ethical system and all the three varieties of optimism. Such reasoning, however, crumbles under analysis. In the first place, if applied to evil, it cannot but be applied to good also, for that too is known to us only in and through Time. Hence, good as we conceive it, equally with evil, must be unreal absolutely. Of the *really* good we have no experience and can, therefore, form no conception. And yet the fourth variety of optimism predicates it of the universe! Is not such an optimism blind? In the second place, the distinction upon which this whole fabric of argument rests, is not in the last resort defensible. How can evil be real from one point of view and unreal from another? Is not the admitted fact that temporary evil exists, itself an absolute evil? Must we not conclude that Browning has contrived, not to avoid, but merely to veil a fundamental inconsistency in his thought?

Nor do Meredith's theories fare much better. They are not, indeed, encumbered with the view that evil is illusory. But they involve difficulties of their own scarcely less important. In the first place, they are not in accord with the poet's general epistemological methods. Throughout

THE OPTIMISM OF BROWNING AND MEREDITH

his writings, he is continually condemning attempts to transcend experience :

“ What is dumb,
We question not, nor ask
The silent to give sound,
The hidden to unmask,
The distant to draw near.”
—*Woodland Peace.*

His creed that good will finally triumph in a perfected humanity, cannot, however, be got from experience. It is a faith, just as much, and just as little, susceptible of scientific proof as the doctrine of immortality. In so far as he accepts it he does transcend experience, and thus violates his own fundamental principle.

In the second place, the Utopia which he postulates is itself incoherent. In order to a recognition of the goodness of Earth, he holds it necessary that self-regarding desires should be destroyed, and that each man should accept his place as a means for service :

We do but wax
For service over land and sea.

But if this doctrine is pressed to its logical conclusion, what becomes of the end to which we are means? It may, indeed, be suggested, that the human beings who shall be so fortunate as to live in the golden age constitute that end. But it is surely arbitrary to decree that those who happen to be born after a certain date are thus fundamentally distinguished from those born before it. As has somewhere been said, no reason can be given for separating for peculiar honour the inhabitants of a particular time, rather than of a particular place.

If this arbitrary distinction is not made, it will follow that the inhabitants of the golden age are, and must regard themselves as being, like the present generation, mere means. Is not the conclusion then inevitable, that there is no “end” at all? We are confronted with the paradox in which the ideal of perfect altruism destroys itself. Meredith’s optimism, therefore, equally with Browning’s,

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

fails to make good a claim to be considered a consistent articulated whole.

To this disappointing two-fold conclusion, there are at once a positive and a negative side. Positively, it may stand as a protest against a practice, now not uncommon, of accepting one's favourite poet as an inspired teacher of philosophic doctrine. From this point of view, Browning has long been, and Meredith is now becoming, the centre of a cult. But the hope to find a stable view of the universe in the writings of either of them is a delusion of dilettantism :

“ O Raphael, when men the fiend do fight,
They conquer not upon such easy terms ! ”

The riddle of the universe is burked and is not solved, if we are content to find an answer in the warmth and glow of melodious verse.

But the negative side of the conclusion is at least equally important. It does not follow that, because poetry in general, and that of these poets in particular, fails to teach philosophy, it is therefore irrelevant and useless to would-be philosophers. On the contrary, a poet's ear is often attuned to experiences beyond the grasp of common men. He has an insight and a vision, and a hold upon concreteness, which the thinker in his study often lacks. His “visions of the night and of the day” have in them, therefore, something beyond their immediate value as expressions of high art. Embodiments of beauty, they are also means to knowledge, —the marble and the silver and the gold, wherefrom, with toil and pain, the temple of Truth is reared.

A. C. PIGOU

MR. HENRY JAMES AND HIS PUBLIC

WHEN a new book by Mr. James appears, admirers of his later work cannot help wondering in how large and attentive an audience they are enthusiastic units. If it is large, it must be due to the fascination of his subjects, for Mr. James's books are not to be read without hard work, and to tell the truth, not without acute periodic exasperation. The facts of human nature upon which the reader's attention must be bent, are often difficult to perceive, harder to focus, and of the kind which carry no weight in the Courts of Common Law. If then, his audience is large and attentive, in spite of perplexity, it implies that in the attitude of individuals to each other they are prepared to find heroisms, adventures, and romances of integrity and patience, as real and exciting as those which spring from devotion to a cause or from the pursuit of success; for to those who thought otherwise, a book like *The Golden Bowl* would appear an ocean of multitudinous and insignificant detail, in which they could never be persuaded to do more than take a dip.

Personal relations have always been the main theme of the novel; but Mr. James is the first novelist in whose most characteristic work the relation of two people to each other is intended to be of intenser interest than their own characters, not only to the reader, *but to the people in the book themselves*. The qualities which distinguish the principal characters in Mr. James's later books are an intense and strangely collected self-consciousness, and a clair-voyant power of perception, concentrated upon the equally clear perceptions of others. In this book there is one absolutely astounding scene in which the minds of father and daughter

¹ *The Golden Bowl*, by Henry James. Methuen, 1905.
No. 20.—VOL. VI. 105

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

seem, like opposed mirrors, to reflect each other to infinity, till the reader seems to descry a yonder beyond the end of perfect comprehension—and all the time, the words spoken are disjointed colloquial little phrases.

Life in these books is a romance of two worlds : one is the outside world of action, pleasures, and affairs, and the other a mental world, transcending and completing it, where thoughts unspoken and feelings unacted count as much as words and deeds, where all stories have their beginnings and all incidents finally close. The romance of life for Mr. James lies in the interplay of these two worlds, and, therefore, all his characters are endowed with that subtlety of perception which gives its possessors the freedom of the mental world, and enables them to pass across barriers of silence and dissimulation into the minds of others.

Most great novelists have given to their creations an excess of some characteristic, usually the one which is dominant in themselves. Thus Mr. Meredith's characters are filled to an unnatural degree with the beauty and courage of life ; Balzac gives to his a treble dose of will and appetite ; the men and women in Mr. James's novels, the stupid as well as the intelligent, show far subtler powers of perception than such men and women would actually have. It is only by exaggerating, consciously or unconsciously, that quality in them that he can do artistic justice to the world as it reflects itself in his own imagination. With this exception his work is the work of a realist ; that is to say, his men and women are no more heroic or single-hearted than real people, and granted their superior thought-reading faculties and the nature of their interests, events follow one another as they would in real life. The reader may find himself saying, " No one in their senses would act on such a far fetched guess as that without corroborative evidence " ; but he will never find himself saying, " that is not the way things happen." Whether his characters are children of wealth and fashion, jaded journalists, apathetic or wily disreputables, hard-working or dilatory artists, they are all incorrigibly preoccupied with human nature, with watching the complex shifting social relationships and intimate dramas going on round them. There is a kind of

MR. HENRY JAMES AND HIS PUBLIC

detachment about them all ; they watch, they feel, they compare notes. There is hardly a minor character in his later books who does not promptly show the makings of a gossip of genius.

To these observers, who disintegrate the subtlest motives and divine each other's thoughts, it naturally follows the real interest of any situation lies further back than the actions and words that it led to ; not in what happened, or even in the passions which were the propelling powers (these are rarely described), but in the thoughts which the passions engendered and their indirect effects. This is the point of view which the reader is bound to take up himself if he is to enjoy these books. The majority of readers, even of those who do not require a plot to interest them, care very little for following a succession of thoughts, which arise out of strong feeling, compared with catching the glow of the feeling itself ; they prefer to imagine the thoughts and have the feeling presented, which is the reverse of Mr. James's method. One of the most extraordinary points about *The Golden Bowl* is that, though it describes love, disillusionment, doubt, and prolonged states of tense self-control, none of these are represented with their accompanying physical experiences which the author leaves to be inferred. This seems to be the cause of the accusation of shadowiness which is so often brought against Mr. James's work ; though, as a matter of fact, it perplexes by precision rather than by vagueness.

The outline of the story of *The Golden Bowl* is easily indicated. Maggie Verver, the daughter of a retired American millionaire, marries an impoverished Italian Prince. On her side it is a love match, and on his side, too, perhaps, though he never could have imagined their marriage happy had she not brought him all that wealth can bring. They do not really understand each other or realise how different they are. He finds her candour and acceptance of every situation baffling. Her innocence and want of suspicion seems to him stupidity, something which separates them really. He can only be tactful, kind, and infinitely considerate, admire her and shelter her. And she loves him and is satisfied. The shortest way to indicate her is to

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

think of her as being both like a nun and like a nymph. The other great factor in her life is her love for her father ; and to make up to him for being so happily married, she devotes herself to him more than ever, thinking of him first before her husband. Her father sees this, and to relieve her he marries her friend, whom he admires, and of whom he is really fond—a girl many years younger than himself.

Now the drama begins. Charlotte Stant is and has been in love with the Prince. At one time, before he met Maggie, they had almost been engaged : want of money had prevented it, and Charlotte fled to save herself. Neither of them have ever spoken of what has been between them. Father and daughter are still always together, with the result that Charlotte, with whom the Prince thinks he has far more in common than with his wife, becomes his mistress. They both think they are quite right in their relation, provided the other two never know and, therefore, never suffer. Maggie divines the truth—first from a look on her husband's face, when he comes back from a country house visit where he has been accompanied by Charlotte, and afterwards her intuition is confirmed by the careful, tender way they treat her. Finally she discovers their previous relationship before her marriage. Instead of feeling bitter resentment and jealousy, her first thought is to hide her misery and the failure of her marriage from her father, who in his turn has realised what has been going on, but whose only care is to shield his daughter from pain. The Prince learns that his wife knows, but he is never certain whether his father-in-law knows or not. Charlotte believes that neither Maggie nor her father know; for the Prince, to help his wife, has kept Charlotte in the dark about his wife's discovery. Father and daughter understand each other at last—that they have both been actuated by a similar idea though they never spoke of it. The father and his wife go back to America, Charlotte pretending to the last that she goes of her own desire. The Prince realises all his wife has done, her goodness, her forbearance, and the wonderful way in which she had saved what could be saved for all four—and really loves her for the first time. The book ends with a scene which is

MR. HENRY JAMES AND HIS PUBLIC

the beginning of a closer marriage ; but father and daughter are parted.

One word on the style and method of Mr. James's stories. He is the most metaphorical and metaphysical of writers in the sense in which that term was applied to Cowley and Donne. He abounds in "conceits," that is to say, he often follows a metaphor or verbal association to its furthest ramifications, and ingeniously but violently forces them to help him carry on his thought, which in this way takes a great many turns and twists in approaching the particular point. The characteristic of his later style is a spontaneous complexity. The sentences are often cumbrous and difficult, struggling through a press of hints and ideas, which gather round every word and are carried on to help elucidating the situation ; this end, however, they are far from achieving for any one who has not taken the trouble to see their bearing—and this is often hard work. But apart from the frequency of happy and beautiful phrases, both his style and his method of telling a story have often a charm which is usually associated with a very different kind of imaginative work. The charm of all writing which has the quality of improvisation is that, in such writing, the reader catches the author's own excitement in the development of his idea, shares his delight in dallying with it, in turning it round and round, or, if it is a simple story, he feels it growing at the same time as he enjoys the tale. It is a quality which cannot be illustrated by extracts, but that much of Mr. James's writing has this charm and merit, which is usually associated with simplicity of thought, is clear to any one who analyses the pleasure he gets in reading it. He does not clip his ideas or cut his coat according to his cloth, but he weaves it as he goes along. As he follows this idea wherever it leads him, his readers are sometimes landed in strange places, and those who are capable of a psychological glow experience again something like the thrill with which they used in their childhood to read such phrases as "as soon as his eyes grew accustomed to the darkness" . . . what on earth is he going to see next !

This method of analytical improvisation, of giving all

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the approaches to the thought as well as its clearest expression, of taking advantage of every passing refraction of an idea, justifies itself, although it makes his books extremely long ; for it is the method most suitable to the dramas and situations which excite the author's most intense interest. He has often to draw attention to perceptions and states of consciousness, or of reciprocal consciousness, which are difficult to recognise ; for when they actually occur, most people are in the habit of passing them over as being too vague to be of significance. Before, therefore, the reader can identify them, he must be got to attend, to listen to things as much on the extreme verge of his oral perception as a bat's cry ; he must be induced to analyse and distinguish ; and the best way of doing this is to allow him to follow the process of the author's thought.

Two questions can always be put about the value of any author's work. Has he succeeded in doing what he tried to do ? What is the importance of that ? To the first question in this case the answer must be, "yes, beyond all possible reasonable expectation." The second is more difficult to answer. *The Golden Bowl* will certainly not have much meaning for those who live more in a world of things and public affairs than of persons ; nor for those who are not conscious how intimate they are with others, knowing only that they are fond of them or hate them ; nor to those who hate modern society—unless they read the book very carefully, which they are not likely to do. Those who are capable of understanding his work and appreciating it must be a little sceptical about the value of most of the aims and desires which make most stir in the world. They need not be those who are content to understand what others enjoy ; but understanding must enter into their ideal. Such readers will not find much wrong in the proportions of the world as Mr. James represents it, except this (but this sometimes goes far) : that the author seems to over-rate the *value* that subtlety lends to character, and, therefore, often exaggerates the beauty, as compared with other things, of many of the situations in which subtlety is supremely necessary.

DESMOND MACCARTHY

MR. BALFOUR'S *HORAE SUBSECIVAE*¹

IT is not perhaps, in all respects, desirable that a Prime Minister should divert himself with politics. Mr. Gladstone used to say that a change of employment was the best recreation ; and he found it in controversial theology. Mr. Balfour finds it in metaphysics, which are safe, because, since the time of Plato, they have led to no very definite conclusion, while they are profitable as an excellent sharpener of the wits. No public man since the time of Bulwer Lytton, not even Mr. Haldane, has been more frankly metaphysical than Mr. Balfour. Nor is he only metaphysical himself. He is the cause that metaphysics are in other men. Mr. Wyndham is, perhaps, the most distinguished of his intellectual pupils. But, while even the otherwise united Party which he leads are believed to differ in opinion upon the merits, and even the meaning, of his economic doctrines, they are all ready to adopt, if not to read, his Address as President of the British Association in 1904. In reprinting that dexterous document Mr. Balfour has done well. Charmingly modest in tone, artfully simple in style, graceful and courteous in its patronage of such amateur philosophers as "John Mill," it is adapted with singular perfection to an audience which might be called scientific as the congregation at Westminster Abbey might be called theological. Whatever else may be said, or thought, of Mr. Balfour as a Prime Minister, we must all revere and admire his intellectual enthusiasm, his genuine and absorbing interest in things of the mind. He is the exact opposite of Sir Robert Walpole, whose tastes outside politics were trivial or low. Mr. Balfour's brain is never idle, and never

¹ *Essays and Addresses.* By the Right Hon. Arthur James Balfour, M.P. Edinburgh : David Douglas, 1905.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

busy with unworthy themes. This volume contains several essays which would be well worth reading if they had been written by a Secretary, or even an Under Secretary, of State. *The Pleasures of Reading* is altogether delightful, if not original, or profound. *Bishop Berkeley's Life and Letters* and *Handel* belong to a higher order. The thorough knowledge which they show is accompanied by a sympathetic insight and a forcible presentment, which give them a value quite independent of their authorship. On the other hand, the review of Mr. Morley's *Life of Cobden* might have been left where it was. It was published just twenty years before Mr. Chamberlain thought fit to revive a controversy which for forty years had been regarded as closed, and has no direct bearing upon any question of the day. But Mr. Balfour does not like Cobden, nor did he at that time like Cobden's biographer. The book irritated and annoyed him. That he should express his irritation and annoyance in a monthly magazine was natural enough. Mr. Balfour, as well as inferior people, is entitled to a reasonable amount of prejudice. He should have remembered Johnson's reply to Boswell's inquiry whether he sometimes had a "fit of narrowness." "Yes, sir, but I do not talk about it." The crime, however, if it be a crime, has brought its own punishment. Mr. Balfour has stereotyped his marvellous discovery, that Cobden "did not rise superior to the ordinary radicalism of the day." After the death of Peel there were three great personal forces in the English politics of the nineteenth century. One was called Cobden, another Gladstone, the third Disraeli. Mr. Balfour would not think much of a critic who said that Disraeli did not rise superior to the ordinary Conservatism of the day, or that Gladstone did not rise superior to the ordinary Liberalism of the day. Such a judgment would be what the French call *saugrenu*. It would pass the bounds of legitimate difference in opinion, and, if seriously meant, would be a disqualification.

The attack on Cobden is in the older part of this book, which first appeared twelve years ago. Four new essays have now been added, one of which is the Sermon to the British Association at Cambridge. Impatient congregations have sometimes started to their feet on the injudicious use

MR. BALFOUR'S *HORAE SUBSECIVAE*

by a preacher of the word "Now" at the beginning of a sentence. Mr. Balfour never tries the patience of any one who does not wish to succeed him in office ; and he was precluded by custom from repeating the clerical formula. His substitute was to hint in his final words his "own personal opinion that as Natural Science grows, it leans more, not less, upon a teleological interpretation of the universe." The doctrine of final causes has never been insinuated with more delicacy, or dismissed with more despatch. But, if the transition from electricity was sudden, it was also orthodox, and scarcely more abrupt than the application boldly made in Eton chapel of an unpromising text from the book of Esther about the posts of King Ahasuerus. "My brethren," said the Fellow who occupied the pulpit, "the Word of God operates upon the heart of man as quickly as King Ahasuerus's posts conveyed his letters." Mr. Balfour's lecture on the *Nineteenth Century* is one of his happiest efforts. "Poet-philosophers like Bacon" must have resembled him in something else than the poetic faculty, unless, indeed, Mr. Balfour credits Bacon with works still attributed by the man in the street to Shakespeare. But this is a small point, and the end of this essay deals with a very large question indeed. Mr. Balfour is sometimes too fond of indulging in those cheap paradoxes which are no more than inverted platitudes. Here is a paradox in the true sense, a theory which runs counter to received opinion, and yet may embody a profound truth.

"We have frequently seen in the history of thought that any development of the mechanical conception of the physical world gives an impulse to materialistic speculation. Now, if the goal to which, consciously or unconsciously, the modern physicist is pressing, be ever reached, the mechanical view of things will receive an extension and a completeness never before dreamed of. There would then in truth be only one Natural Science, namely Physics ; and only one kind of explanation, namely the dynamic. . . . Would this conception, in its turn, foster a new and refined materialism ? For my own part, I conjecture that it would not. I believe that the very completeness and internal consistency of such a view of the physical world would establish its inadequacy. The very fact that within it there seemed no room for Spirit would convince mankind that Spirit must be invoked to explain it."

Whether physical science is really capable of establishing all these grand conclusions, I do not know. But even if they be established, the mystery of life, the miracle that we

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

can put our hands to our mouths, would remain as miraculous and as mysterious as ever.

Most people who take up Mr. Balfour's book will go straight to the politics and stay there. Politics do not mix well with other things, even when, as in this case, they are not serious. *Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade*, and *Dr. Clifford on Education*, do not resemble Mr. Balfour's metaphysics, which are serious enough. They are like Coleridge's metaphysics, which, as Lamb said, were "only his fun." The fun might not be very funny if the joker were not Prime Minister. But then that is just the point of the joke. Free Trade is a term of art, which has a fixed and definite meaning. It means a tariff for revenue only. Protection means a tariff for the benefit of the native manufacturer, at the cost, as Protectionists say, of the foreigner, or, as Free Traders say, of the native consumer. Unless those definitions, which are more than a hundred years old, be accepted, controversy is futile, and leads to nothing. A Free Trader who denounces protection may be asked if he does not think that the country ought to be protected by the army and navy. If he extols Free Trade, he may be asked whether he wishes for free trade in liquors, for free trade in poisons, for free trade in obscene literature, for free trade in Chinamen. A judge suggested from the Bench, the other day, that there should be a moderate duty on foreign revolvers. He meant that they ought to be prohibited because they were used for criminal purposes. I dare say they ought, and home-made revolvers too. There would be nothing contrary to Free Trade in either step. But it did not strike the judicial mind that the object of a tax is to raise money for the public service, and that, if it be a prohibitive tax, it defeats its own object. It is unlawful, I believe, to make nitro-glycerine without a license. That has no more to do with the doctrine of Free Trade than with the differential calculus.

Not having taken the trouble to master the beggarly elements of economic science, Mr. Balfour drifts helplessly down the stream, without a rudder or an oar. He seems to think that there are many varieties of Free Trade, and that a statesman, like a customer, may choose which he prefers.

MR. BALFOUR'S *HORAE SUBSECIVAE*

There are varieties of Protection, though they are varieties of degree, not of kind. Free Trade is one and indivisible. A man must be a Free Trader, or not. It is unilateral, having nothing to do with the examples set by other countries, good or bad. So far as this country is concerned, it is entirely self-regarding, exclusively English. It was adopted by Englishmen for Englishmen, to suit British interests, and British interests alone. Cobden thought that foreign nations would follow suit. He was wrong. He was a bad prophet, if indeed the phrase be not tautological. But if that proves him to have been a bad economist, logic, like prophecy, must have perished from the world. Mr. Villiers once told me that he never shared Cobden's interest in what foreign countries did. "If Free Trade is a good thing," he said, "for God's sake let us keep it to ourselves." The commercial supremacy of Great Britain is not entirely due to Free Trade. It has been assisted and promoted by the Protectionist tariffs of other countries. The policy of profiting by foreign sugar-bounties might by austere moralists be considered narrow and selfish. From the purely patriotic point of view its wisdom could not be doubted. If Free Trade must be universal, it has of course never existed; and the fierce controversies of 1846 were waged about nothing at all. As for "free imports," they do not exist here and now. A very large part of our taxation is raised by duties on imported tobacco and imported spirits. No Free Trader objects, because every penny added to the price of spirits and tobacco goes into the Treasury and is spent upon the nation. There is a dangerously large number of persons who wish to divert taxation into their own pockets; and Mr. Balfour is their innocent advocate. Not without reason did Sir Robert Peel say, that he should leave a name execrated by every monopolist. The only other name which they hate as much as his is the name of Richard Cobden.

Mr. Balfour comes at times so near economic truth, that his failure to attain it is almost miraculous. He thinks that he overthrows what he is pleased to call the "manufacturing ideal" when he says: "Inasmuch as conditions of climate render it obligatory to import many of our luxuries, and conditions of population and manufacture render it

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

obligatory to import many of our necessities, a large export trade is necessary, in order that these things shall be paid for." Clumsily worded as this sentence is, it contains the whole doctrine of Free Trade, and is quite inconsistent with Mr. Balfour's many deviations therefrom. The fundamental difference between a Free Trader and a Protectionist is, that one regards foreign trade as good, and the other regards it as evil. According to the Protectionist, it displaces native employment, and impoverishes the country by draining it of gold. According to the Free Trader, it encourages labour at home, and widens its area by turning it into more productive channels. By admitting, what is of course the fact, that imports necessitate exports, Mr. Balfour gives up the Protectionist case, and cuts his own ground from under his own feet. Yet he goes on, with the utmost unconcern, to talk about the world rejecting Free Trade, as if the question were an international one, and as if no country could adopt a tariff for revenue only, unless every other country did the same. "International Free Trade," he tells us, "promotes wealth, because it conduces to an international division of labour." Mr. Balfour falls, here and elsewhere, into the vulgar error of supposing that one country trades with another. The commercial unit is not the nation, but the individual. If foreign individuals were not hampered in neutral markets by the restrictive tariffs of their own Governments, they would have a better chance of underselling their British rivals. The universal adoption of Free Trade would benefit the world, and England as a part of the world. But, though it may be unchristian, it is very tempting for a mere Englishman, to rejoice in the Navigation Laws of the United States, which have tied the hands of American shipowners, and left Englishmen what, if it were not for the Free Traders of Norway, would be almost a monopoly of the world's carrying trade. One should always rejoice in the victory of right reason, whatever the consequences to one's self. But insular prejudice, and narrow-minded patriotism, sometimes make one fear lest the fiscal controversy should injure one's own countrymen by leading the United States to abandon a system which places their artisans at the mercy of grasping millionaires. A tariff for

MR. BALFOUR'S *HORAE SUBSECIVAE*

revenue only, such as Huskisson, Peel, and Gladstone established in this country, "seems, and has always seemed" to Mr. Balfour, "extraordinarily foolish." The feeble intellects of these bungling Ministers, who were wholly without support beyond the House of Commons, the commercial classes, the working classes, and a few harebrained fanatics, such as Adam Smith, Ricardo, Cobden, and Mill, conceived that free access to foreign markets was an incalculable benefit to England, and that whatever foreigners might do, our best course was to buy in the cheapest market, even if we could not also sell in the dearest. Mr. Balfour exults almost unkindly over the failure of their predictions, and the ruin of their hopes. As Member for Manchester, he is brought into continual contact with the miserable results of the wretched Cobdenite craze. The spectacle fills him with gloom, almost with despair. "I see," he says in words which deserve immortality, "I see no satisfactory symptoms," forgetting, in his modesty, that he has raised the price of sugar from six pounds to sixteen pounds a ton. What is the remedy? The situation is almost irretrievable. Only the starving little country of Holland persists in impoverishing itself by adhering to "one-sided Free Trade." Let us, then, be up and doing. Let us no longer "take it lying down." Let us act in the noble spirit of Swift, when he advised the Irish people, not perhaps without a suspicion of irony, to burn all the products of England except her coal. There is one hope, and only one. "The only alternative is to do to foreign nations what they always do to each other." Here is wisdom. Foreign nations have indulged in tariff wars, which wasted their substance, while the British trader said nothing, and took advantage of the opportunity. There was folly. Christ said "Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you." Mr. Balfour says, "Do unto others as ye see them doing." It is not without significance that Cobden's favourite religious exercise was to hear his daughter read the Sermon on the Mount. But it showed a narrow fanatical spirit, which Tariff Reformers and philosophic statesmen have outgrown. If the Prime Minister will read *Mary Barton*, he will see what a glorious time the people of Lancashire had in the

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

good old days of Protection and Retaliation, when we did unto others what we saw them doing to themselves.

I do not think that the abstract reasoning of Mr. Balfour's *Notes* will make many converts. But that is not where the element of danger comes in. If the issue between Protection and Free Trade, between a tariff for revenue and a tariff for corruption, could be decided by argument, it would have been decided long ago. Sophistry becomes really formidable when it rests upon cupidity; and there can be no doubt that Free Trade vastly diminishes the chances of a dishonest livelihood. The umbrella-maker, said Bastiat, whom Mr. Balfour would do well to study, is in favour of Free Trade in wood, silk, and whalebone. He merely wants protection for umbrellas. Intelligent and enlightened merchants are Free Traders because they realise that they buy far more things than they sell. Honest ignorance may not see this. But honest ignorance is not what we have to dread. Mr. Balfour has supporters of whose existence he is unconscious, and with whom he would not willingly sit at meat. They are men whose mouths water, and whose fingers itch, when they read of corners in American wheat, of growing rich beyond the dreams of avarice by the simple process of starving a district. The antiquated system of benighted Cobdenism, to which this incorrigible old country clings, draws their teeth and blunts their claws. But their cry goes up: How long? They are hustling all they know to be in a big steal; and there is a side of Mr. Balfour's economic scepticism which they regard as good "biz." They are downy coves, who want to have their knives in the Liberal Party for blowing the gaff, and setting the coppers on them. I hope I make myself intelligible. *Verb. sap.*

Mr. Balfour's second contribution to the politics of the day, his reply to Dr. Clifford, is a vigorous and unsparing piece of personal satire. If it had come from a young and ambitious candidate for a seat in Parliament, it would have fulfilled its purpose by drawing attention to the writer. That a Prime Minister, with his heart in metaphysics, should have taken the trouble to compose it, is rather strange. For Mr. Balfour has no vanity to gratify, and

MR. BALFOUR'S *HORAE SUBSECIVAE*

never, so to speak, shows off. Still stranger is it that he should not, while he was about it, have been at the pains to discover why the Nonconformists opposed his Education Bill. It seems never to have struck him that they were not all fools, and that they must have a meaning of some kind. He treats them like fractious children who will come to their senses when they have been well shaken, and not before. Dr. Clifford's style is by no means academic ; and his monotonous exaggeration palls. He would be much more effective, in the opinion of one humble Liberal, if he were a little quieter. But he is not, as Mr. Balfour seems to suppose, a raving maniac. He knows what he is talking about. He has a case, and chop-logic will not dispose of it. "His constitutional studies," says Mr. Balfour with a sneer, "have apparently convinced him that in an assembly where the majority govern a dissentient minority is a negligible quantity." Even in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister has done his best to make it so. But can he not see the difference between a temporary and a permanent minority ? Surely he must sometimes have reflected of late that those who are a minority in this House of Commons may be a majority in the next. But, under the Education Act the representatives of the public on the managing body of a "non-provided" school must always be in a minority ; and this vital distinction destroys the whole of his argument. No Opposition in Parliament could continue if it did not live in hope of redressing the balance, and crossing the House. Mr. Balfour's favourite polemical weapon is what logicians call *ignoratio elenchi*. Take, for instance, his retort to Dr. Clifford on the subject of the last General Election, when Mr. Balfour and several of his colleagues argued that Liberals might vote for them, because the only question at issue was the inevitability of the war. Who now believes that the war was inevitable I do not stay to enquire, and I quite admit that the British Constitution knows nothing of "mandates," fond as Conservatives are of appealing to them. If Mr. Balfour chooses to say that the electors were simpletons to take him literally, well and good. If it is not chivalrous, it is true. But his references to the abolition of the Corn Laws, to the Irish Land Act of 1881,

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

to the Home Rule Bill of 1886, are wholly immaterial and misleading. Neither in 1841, nor in 1880, nor yet in 1885, was the country told by responsible statesmen that national interests of supreme importance required the severance of Party ties. So again with the question of rates and taxes. Why, asks the Prime Minister, should Dissenters object to paying rates for sectarian schools over which they have no control, when they have paid taxes for them ever since 1870? Even a junior Lord of the Treasury might be expected to perceive that the Education Department represented the taxpayer, and that no school of which the Department did not approve could receive a grant from the public purse. If every school in receipt of rates were subject to the County Council, Mr. Balfour's gibe would have some point. At present it has none. It seems to me, if I may respectfully say so, rather beneath the Prime Minister of England to make an opponent appear ridiculous by carefully leaving out the points of his arguments and the substance of his complaints. Any fool can do it. It is not an occupation for a statesman, even in his leisure hours. Politics spoil this volume. Without them it would be a singularly charming example of what a brilliant, cultivated intellect, open to the best influences of its age and country, can make of time too often wasted in writing unreadable books.

HERBERT PAUL

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THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

VOL. VI. NO. 21

JUNE, 1905

CONTENTS

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

MR. BALFOUR AND THE CONSTITUTION J. A. SPENDER

CHINESE LABOUR IN THE TRANSVAAL DORIS BIRNBAUM

PUBLIC FEEDING OF CHILDREN CANON BARNETT

LONDON AND THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS G. L. BRUCE

THE CALL OF THE EAST A. M. LATTER

CATHOLICISM AND MORALS G. G. COULTON

THE CRATER OF SANTORIN ELEANOR CROPPER

LABOUR AND POLITICS A. HOOK

THE ETERNAL MOMENT Chap. I. E. M. FORSTER

THE BRITISH FARM LABOURER SEEBOHM ROWNTREE

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HOW TO SEE SCOTLAND	Nell Munro.
YOUR HOLIDAY IN IRELAND	Robert Cromie.
WHERE TO SPEND A FISHING HOLIDAY	Walter Gallichan.
THE DANGERS OF ALPINE CLIMBING (Illustrated)	G. D. Abraham.
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NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

THERE is very rarely much to be thankful for in Mr. Balfour's speeches on national policy. But his declaration that under no circumstances need we entertain any reasonable fear of an invasion of England, is an exception. His conclusions were unanimously agreed upon after long deliberation by the Committee of Defence. They are, briefly, that an invasion which landed less than 70,000 men on our shores would be futile, and doomed to certain failure; that an expedition of sufficient magnitude could hardly be a surprise, as it would imply the presence of at least 210,000 tons of foreign transport shipping in some open Channel port; but that, even if all the organized British fleets were dispersed, the expedition would be certainly wrecked before it could land so formidable a force, because time would enable our reserve fleet to attack it, and probably our dispersed fleets to return before the landing could be effected, to say nothing of the swarms of coast defence torpedo craft which would prey upon so enormous a transport navy. Political declarations can rarely be considered as final. But this, arrived at in the face of military prejudice, by real experts imbued with a sense of unusual responsibility to their nation, is likely to become an unalterable guide-post of national policy. As we pointed out last month, when the first hint of it was given, it is a disaster to the Conscriptionist school, which will be fatal to their doctrines if it is properly utilized by progressive leaders. That school will in future have to depend upon Indian frontier panics to feed its militarist demands; and a

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

remote and unreal demand for hundreds of thousands of barrack soldiers to defend India will hardly drive us in time of peace to conscription. Only actual war will now give the Conscriptionists their chance.

The new Aliens Bill has one or two good points, as compared with that of last year. The creation of machinery to facilitate the removal of criminal aliens was advocated by those Liberal members who were most active in opposing the former Bill. But the main principle of both measures is the same : that the poverty test remains. In periods of recurring racial hatred or Protectionist panic, it will be possible to keep men out of England for no reason but that they are poor. The political refugee will never again be certain of an asylum in Britain—unless he has been lucky enough to carry off a large sum in his flight. Considering the extraordinarily small percentage of aliens who come to England and stop there, as compared with the percentage of aliens invading other countries, there was no reason to put an end to the right of asylum, which it was the just pride and the great advantage of this country to maintain. The only reason was, as Mr. Chamberlain justly said, pure Protectionism. There may be Balfourian, and even national reasons for keeping out criminals and lunatics ; but it is the Protectionist spirit that aims at keeping out the poor. Why then did not the Liberal Party oppose the Bill on principle with all its strength ? The Liberal Party ought not to have had its policy dictated by the supposed needs of the very small number of East End Liberal members. The moral prestige which the Liberals have lost by imitating Mr. Balfour's "walking out" tactics, in the matter of the Aliens Bill and of the Agricultural Rating Act, is very considerable. "What is the good," says the ordinary man, who loves a square fight and likes to see principle in others, even if he has not got any himself, "What is the good of a Party which, even on the eve of victory, and with the flowing tide behind it, dares not stand up and hammer its opponents on behalf of its own principles ? Where is the moral stamina, the want of

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

which has been denounced as one reason why Mr. Balfour is unfit for office?" There is still time to recover the moral position of the Liberal Party as regards the Aliens Bill, if the Party comes down and fights in Committee, clause by clause, for the principle of personal and political liberty, which is grossly outraged by the poverty test that still disfigures the Bill.

No doubt the Liberal Party was also in a difficult pass over the Agricultural Rates Act Continuance Bill. A bad measure has become part of the expectation of the agricultural interest. To deprive the farmers of the unfairly distributed relief, would inflict on them an addition of rates, till they could readjust their rents with their landlords. Agricultural members found themselves unable to oppose the Bill. But was it necessary for the Liberal leaders to have adopted the same course? By abstaining from putting forward alternative proposals, they create the disconcerting impression that they will have no policy of rate-reform to propose, when the mantle of government shall have fallen on their shoulders. The public is justified in wondering whether they imagine they can pacify the cry of the universal rate-payer by all round subventions from the national exchequer, so as to include the towns. That might be politically honest, compared with the present system. But it is no more statesmanlike. Our hopes of national economy would disappear. All that could be saved by Army Reform would go in doles. The increase of the rates will not end with the Education Act. The cry of all rate-payers will continue to ascend, just as the farmers now still groan as loudly as they did before their agricultural dole. Local rating has got to be reformed, not by charity from the national exchequer, but by reconstituting the rate-basis. If local taxes fell on the permanent land-values, instead of on the perishing values of houses and improvements, the huge rates of to-day would seem a light burden. Let us take the most extreme case, which has been exciting so much notoriety recently. East Ham declares that it is ruined by the new Education rate, and that it can not pay it. But

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the Education rate is the last straw only. For what reason and common sense are there in the great rate-burden falling on the shops and houses and factories of that newly created hive of human industry? A few years ago, East Ham was only flat marsh-land, valueless to the owner. That marsh-land is now of enormous value, sold or let for large sums, all unearned, all created by the swarming humanity which lives and works there. Why has most of this land-value slipped through the fingers of the public, uncaptured and untaxed, while house-building and other industries are being crushed by rates paid by a community making a small and precarious livelihood? There is wealth enough in East Ham to pay for education and many other services. Why should we continue to avoid making the land bear its full share?

The East Ham case, as we have said, is an extreme, not a typical example of the results of the new Education Act. If the Act had never been passed, the rate in East Ham would still have been oppressively high. But it is a typical example of the effect of having in office a Government which systematically neglects, and has for a long period of years neglected, the needs of local finance and local government. East Ham, and several other outgrowths of London, which are, as it were, the dormitories and nurseries of the Metropolis, ought to be incorporated in London, or at least grouped with the City and County of London for certain purposes, such as Education and Poor Relief, which are at once burdensome and quasi-national. The equalization of rates is a reform distinct from, and not less necessary than, an improvement in the laws of rating and assessment. But, quite apart from special and local evils, the Education Act has caused widespread disturbance and alarm. In some large areas, the additional charge involved has been enormous. In Surrey, for example, it has already added more than a shilling to the rates. To increase the Treasury grants-in-aid would only transfer a burden from the rate-payer to the tax-payer, and shift another part of the cost of education on to the shoulders of the working-man. The revolt against the Education Act,

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

instead of dying down, is spreading, as its supporters predicted, from Wales to England. One of the most important local authorities in the whole country—the West Riding County Council—has been engaged for more than a year in a controversy with the clerical and diocesan authorities whose schools it is now expected to finance without being allowed to control them; and it seems probable, from the last discussion in the Council, that, next autumn, rate-aid will be withdrawn from all non-provided schools that refuse to comply with its regulations in regard to religious tests and other matters. As the bitter controversy proceeds, we find it more and more difficult to understand how the ecclesiastics who inspired the recent legislation could have been so blind to the tradition, principles, and practice of local government in England, as to suppose that rate-aid could be obtained for their schools and seminaries without submitting them to local control, or that an Act so repulsive to the Free Churches, and so repugnant to the spirit of our institutions, could be made an operative and permanent part of the laws of England and Wales.

The defeat of the Trade Union Bill in Grand Committee—for the success of Mr. Galloway's amendment is no less—is more a matter for regret than for surprise. Few of the advocates of Labour were, we imagine, confiding enough to regard the second reading of the Bill as more than a very palpable attempt to put salt on the tail of the electoral sparrow; and it may be even a matter for congratulation that the pretence has broken down openly, before it has had a chance of success. The working-man now knows what he may expect if he entrusts the framing of a measure so vital to his interests to the hands of a Party dominated by the influence of Capital. But we confess to a certain amount of surprise at the attitude of one or two champions of the cause of Labour, whose undoubtedly genuine sympathies are misled by an imperfect knowledge of the difficult legal points with which the situation bristles? Is Mr. Beveridge, for example, who seriously suggests, in the *Westminster*

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Gazette, that the Unions will do well to accept the Taff Vale decision with submission, really aware of the result of that decision ? He seems to think that it could be applied equally to associations of employers and to workmen's Unions. This is an amiable delusion which, while it may, possibly, have salved the consciences of the members of the Court which pronounced the decision, would be found to be nothing more than a delusion in practice. For the Taff Vale judgment merely decided that the *funds* of an association could be made liable to pay damages in an action founded on the acts of its officials. There was no suggestion that the members of the association would be personally liable. Now an association of weekly wage-earners can only make itself effective by slowly accumulating large funds, which, for safety's sake, must be lodged in a conspicuous position, and which are, therefore, extremely easy to get at. But a capitalists' association, composed of men of wealth, can work with complete success on a system of indemnities or guarantees, taking especial care never to have more association funds than are sufficient to pay current office expenses. It could, accordingly, after fighting an action up to the Lords, accept a judgment for heavy damages with perfect equanimity, blandly replying to a claim for payment with the remark : "No funds." Its members could not even be called upon to pay the costs of an unsuccessful action. Of course, such an association would take care that the agents who actually committed or commanded the unlawful acts were men of straw, whose personal liability, if established, would be worth nothing.

Another check to popular claims, which last month witnessed, cannot be fairly attributed to judicial bias ; for the Stonehenge decision did not, as the Taff Vale decision unquestionably did, create new law. The moral of it is, that it is somewhat dangerous to rely on medieval rules of law for the enforcement of claims which arise only in a more advanced stage of civilization. The doctrine of prescriptive user, on which the promoters of the Stonehenge

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

case based their arguments, is a fiction of medieval law ; and medieval law has two characteristics, each of which was fatal to their hopes. In the first place, medieval law knew no such body as "the public" ; it did not rise beyond the conception of small local communities. The Commons Preservation Society was able to do excellent work a generation ago, and to wring a valuable compromise from the landowners, because it was able to establish claims on behalf of small definite bodies—usually the tenants of specific manors ; and it is not quite clear that the promoters (or "relators," as they are technically called) in the Stonehenge case would not have been better advised to rest their claims on the rights of the inhabitants of Amesbury parish. At any rate, there is a well-known decision which, about 100 years ago, recognized the right of parishioners to play "a certain game called cricket," at certain seasons of the year, on private land. In the second place, medieval law is intensely materialistic. It recognizes rights of pasturage, wood-cutting, and turf-digging. But it has no respect for æsthetic pleasures ; it does not recognize the advantages of a fine prospect, or the charm of inspecting ancient monuments. The promoters strove to establish a right of way ; and in one detail they succeeded, before the commencement of proceedings, in extorting an admission from the defendant. But medieval law regarded a walk merely as a regrettable necessity of getting from one place to another. It demanded rigidly a *terminus a quo* and a *terminus ad quem*. And, unfortunately, the evidence showed that the people who came to look at Stonehenge generally returned by the way they came. This fact constituted the approach to the monuments, in the view of the law, a *cul de sac* ; and there can be no right of way in a *cul de sac*—at any rate in a country district. The whole story is eloquent of the evils of the present land system, which has allowed mere rights (or rather duties) of jurisdiction to develop into absolute ownership. There are two Acts of Parliament dealing with historic monuments ; and Stonehenge is expressly included in their scope. The first contemplates the acquisition of such monuments by the Board of Works, and provides penalties for defacement of them ; the second gives similar

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

powers to County Councils, and secures to the public free access to these monuments acquired by either body. But, with that absurd deference to the claims of landowners which characterizes English legislation, it is specially provided that no landowner shall be compelled to sell his monuments to the State, or hindered if he desires to deface them. Sir Edward Antrobus could sell Stonehenge to a Chicago millionaire if he pleased, or break it up into flints for road-mending.

Lord Cromer's Annual Report on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of Egypt and the Soudan has been for many years one of the most thrilling and refreshing of all our Blue Books. The most successful of all our public administrators and financiers, Lord Cromer owes his success to his frank recognition that the government of a province should be guided by the interests of its people, and especially of its poorer classes. He has steadily refused to accede to the wishes of the official classes in Egypt, who have often urged him to control and censor the Press. He regards the Press as the best indication of the wishes and grievances of the people, which it is the business of the Government to ascertain and remedy ; and in all his measures he remembers, to use his own words in the Report for 1904 (issued a few weeks ago), "that autonomy is the ultimate goal towards which reform should gradually be directed, and therefore any step in an opposite direction is to be deprecated." There are several features of peculiar interest in the new Report—the Agreement with France and its favourable bearing upon Egyptian government and legislation, the problem of providing better roads and sanitation in the absence of a system of local rates, the necessity of maintaining economy and of increasing reproductive expenditure without adding to the burdens of taxation. These and many other topics are discussed at length. Arguments and objections are frankly stated and balanced. Lord Cromer seems to be taking into his confidence everyone, whether Egyptian or European, who is interested in the good government and onward progress of this flourishing State. Perhaps the most surprising and satisfactory feature

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

of the latest Report is the part relating to the Soudan. Crime is being reduced. The slave trade is being steadily stamped out. "The child population is increasing ; and thus, in course of time, the fearful waste of life arising from war and disease will be repaired." The revenue is steadily growing ; so that, while every year Egyptian surpluses are larger, the Soudanese deficit is being lessened, "in spite of"—we should rather say in consequence of—"the adoption of a system of taxation which imposes very light burdens on the people."

When the French Chamber rose, on April 23rd, for the Easter recess, three Articles of the Separation Bill and the first clause of Article IV. had been disposed of. Much attention has been paid in this country to the amendment of Article IV., the effect of which has been quite absurdly exaggerated by the greater part of the English Press, which has shown itself ignorant of the purport of the Article. It has been said that Article IV. is the 'crucial clause' of the Bill ; and the issue involved has been represented as one of 'transfer' of property 'as against confiscation,' of the constitution of the 'associations for the practice of religion,' or of the future ownership of the churches. In fact, Article IV. is concerned merely with such property as the furniture of churches and presbyteries ; and the amount at stake is valued by the *Temps* at about £9 per parish on an average. There was no question of confiscating this property ; the Article, as originally worded, transferred it to the new Associations. But it was pointed out that a difficulty might arise, in certain cases, in deciding which of several associations was entitled to the property. No sooner was this recognized, than M. François de Pressensé moved, and the Government and Commission accepted, an amendment securing to the Associations that conformed to 'the rules of the general organisation of the religion' which they profess to practice, the property hitherto enjoyed by the representatives of that religion. That is to say, the furniture, &c., of the Catholic churches and other buildings will be transferred to the Associations recognized by the bishop of the diocese,

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

that of Protestant churches to the Association recognized by the official Synod or the *Délégation Libérale*, as the case may be. It is not surprising that so obvious and harmless a proposal should have been carried by 482 votes against 52 ; what is surprising is, that anyone should discover in it a danger to the State, an aggrandizement of Papal and episcopal power, or an extraordinary concession to the Church wrung from reluctant anti-clericals. As M. Briand and M. Jaurès pointed out, the question whether the Roman Catholic system is a good one was not at issue. That system has to be recognized as an existing fact ; and a Roman Catholic Association can only be an association in communication with the bishop. Any number of Associations entirely free from episcopal control may be formed ; but it would be neither just nor reasonable to endow them with Catholic property. The case of Protestants and Jews is, *mutatis mutandis*, the same. This precedent will doubtless be followed in allocating the use of the churches ; since the intention of the Bill is, rightly and properly, to grant their use to those who now enjoy it. That even papers usually well-informed should have magnified this matter of the ownership of chairs and candlesticks into a vital question of principle with far-reaching consequences, should be a warning against reckless and ill-informed comment on the internal affairs of another and a friendly nation.

In spite of the groaning stalls, and the unceasing shriek of the news-boy, there does undoubtedly appear to be a decided gap in the ranks of daily journalism. When, less than two years ago, the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Daily News* raced for the privilege of throwing away the odd halfpenny, London was left without a penny Liberal morning paper ; and we cannot help thinking that the result has been unfavourable to Liberal prospects. We should be the last to deny the services rendered to the Liberal cause by the admirable energy and vigour of the halfpenny Press. It is entirely right that a popular cause should be championed by popular weapons. But, while we may admit that the intelligent working classes are the backbone of the army of progress, it will not do to neglect the

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

numerous, if less stalwart warriors, who love to nestle under Mrs. Grundy's wing. It is an undoubted fact that many, even among strong Radicals, have, since the flight of the halfpenny, habitually bought and read Unionist penny papers; and, though this practice may be harmless, or even beneficial to them, it cannot be regarded as satisfactory that the vast mass of middle-class respectability should be practically compelled to adopt a similar course. This section of the community, which is all-powerful in many constituencies and an important element in many others, is always inclined, on social grounds, to vote with the supporters of privilege. All the more important is it, that its members should be encouraged, even by guile, to submit to the inoculation of ideas. But ideas, always unpleasant to the average mind, must be presented in an attractive guise—*i.e.* a guise attractive to the patient. The halfpenny paper is not an attractive medium to this class. For one thing, its members honestly desire more detailed matter than the halfpenny paper can afford to give; they are, comparatively speaking, men of leisure. For another, and it is no good to blink the fact, there are thousands of worthy people who do not care to be seen buying a halfpenny paper. Such a coin as a halfpenny is beneath the notice of the prosperous churchwarden in broadcloth and silk hat; he affects ignorance of its existence. And so, as his sound commercial instincts revolt against making the news-boy a present of the odd halfpenny, he buys a *Telegraph* or a *Post*, instead of a *News* or a *Chronicle*. That is a bad thing for the prospects of progress; and we believe that a thoroughly first-class Liberal penny morning paper, as good in its way as the *Westminster*, but of a more commercial and matter-of-fact character (as befits the morning hours), would not only pay its enterprising proprietor, but would do a real service to the cause of progress. We want something to do for London what the *Manchester Guardian* does so admirably for Lancashire. There are probably one or two Unionist papers of old standing which could be acquired on reasonable terms. Why not take a leaf out of the Tariff Reformer's book? Or, indeed, cannot the *Manchester Guardian* get itself distributed in London by eight o'clock instead of by nine?

MR. BALFOUR AND THE CONSTITUTION

IT may or may not be that Mr. Balfour's efforts to keep the present Government in existence, notwithstanding the clear indications that public confidence has been withdrawn from it, are at length approaching their limit. In either event, it seems desirable that those who have objected to this process should have a clear mind as to the arguments which, on constitutional grounds, may fairly be taken against it. This is as important for the future as for the present.

The case is cumulative, and begins with the election of 1900. That was an election conducted by Ministers specifically on the war issue. Mr. Balfour asked the electors "whatever their politics might be, or to whatever Party in the State their allegiance had been given, to remember that this election did not turn on any of the old questions which had divided the electorate in previous elections" (October 1st, 1900). "The issue," according to Mr. Chamberlain, was "not a question of domestic policy, such as Church Disestablishment or Liquor Prohibition, but a question of the existence of the Empire."

This was said in the middle of the election, in explanation of the fact, real or supposed, that "thousands and thousands of miners who had never voted Unionist before, who still called themselves Liberals and Radicals as before, had on this occasion—even if it were to be only for this occasion—supported the Unionist candidates." On this ground—the ground that the war was alone in question, and that "other social questions did not form the issue at present,"—both Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain appealed to Liberals and Radicals to "put their patriotism before

MR. BALFOUR AND THE CONSTITUTION

Party." The appeal was widely responded to ; and the Government obtained a majority of 130, to a considerable extent by the assistance of electors who believed their assurances that domestic questions were not the issue.

The implied pledge has not been observed. The miners, the Nonconformists, and other Liberals and Radicals who gave their votes to the Government in 1900, have seen the majority used to pass the Education Act, the Licensing Act, and other controversial measures of domestic legislation, such as were definitely excluded from their purview in 1900. Here there is no question of the mandate theory, so-called. Ordinarily, the elector must take a Government for better or worse, and judge of the measures that they are likely to introduce from their general complexion and previous professions of faith. Circumstances change, fresh emergencies arise, and it would not be in the public interest that Ministries should be limited to the subjects that have been canvassed at an election. But in the present case the Government chose, rightly or wrongly—wrongly, as I think,—but still chose, deliberately, to cut themselves off from the domestic issues on which the votes of their opponents would have been withheld from them.

There are no precedents which justify us in calling the violation of this pledge "unconstitutional" ; for, so far as I am aware, no similar case has arisen in modern times. But, on the other hand, the doctrine which has been endorsed by some Liberals, that it is a case of *caveat elector*, and that a Government which gets a majority must be presumed to have a free run on all subjects for six years, in spite of the limiting conditions which it chose to lay down when asking for support, undoubtedly offends against good morals, even if it can be squared with law and practice. The constitutional point is, however, a rather different one, and arises out of the question whether a Government, having once obtained a majority on any issue, is entitled to remain in office under all circumstances, unless defeated in the House of Commons, up to the limits of the Septennial Act, or at all events for the six years which is the customary duration of Parliaments. In a speech at

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Leeds on April 7th, Mr. Gerald Balfour went to the length of asserting it to be "altogether unconstitutional" that a Prime Minister should dissolve Parliament, unless defeated, short of this limit. This is manifestly absurd; for, among other things, it convicts Lord Salisbury of having done what was "altogether unconstitutional" (and Mr. Gerald Balfour himself of having connived at it) when he dissolved the Parliament of 1895, in the autumn of 1900, after little more than five years of existence, and without any defeat in the House of Commons. Other Ministers have not carried it so far as that; but they have one and all asserted their right to remain in office for the full term of this Parliament, notwithstanding that the issues have changed, that a new Government, undreamt of in 1900, has come into existence, and that, on their own abundant confession, this Government has lost, if it ever possessed, the confidence of the country. I say "on their own confession;" for scarcely a Ministerial speech has been made since the beginning of the year in which the assumption will not be found that, if an election took place at this moment, it would result in the success of the Opposition. What we have to examine is the claim of "right" to continue in office in these circumstances.

I think it may be said, broadly, that this claim is disallowed by all the leading authorities on the law and custom of the constitution. There is, indeed, a considerable variety of opinion as to the proper remedy if a Prime Minister asserts it; but, so far as I can discover, there is a complete unanimity that he ought not to assert it, and that, if he does, he is violating the unwritten compact between him and the public, upon which his authority depends. Sir William Anson, who, by the way, is a member of the present Government, is quite explicit on this point. This is what he writes in his *Law and Custom of the Constitution* (3rd edn., Vol. I, p. 372):

"We must not forget that the possible violation of the law is not the only reason why a Ministry should retire when it is shown to have lost the confidence of the House or of the country. Ministers are not only Ministers of the Queen, they represent the public opinion of the United

MR. BALFOUR AND THE CONSTITUTION

Kingdom ; when they cease to impersonate public opinion they become a mere group of personages who must stand or fall by the prudence of their action. They may have to deal with disorders at home or hostile manifestations abroad ; they would have to meet these with the knowledge that they had not the confidence or support of the country ; and their opponents at home and abroad would know this too."

Professor Dicey holds the supposed case to be one in which the King may fairly exercise his prerogative of dissolving Parliament :

"There are certainly combinations of circumstances under which the Crown has the right to dismiss a Ministry who command a Parliamentary majority, and to dissolve the Parliament by which the Ministry are supported. The prerogative, in short, of dissolution may constitutionally be so employed as to override the will of the representative body, or, as it is popularly called, 'The People's House of Parliament.' This looks at first sight like saying that in certain cases the prerogative can be so used as to set at nought the will of the nation. But in reality it is far otherwise. The discretionary power of the Crown occasionally may be, and, according to constitutional precedents, sometimes ought to be, used to strip an existing House of Commons of its authority. But the reason why the House can, in accordance with the constitution, be deprived of power and of existence, is that an occasion has arisen on which there is fair reason to suppose that the opinion of the House is not the opinion of the electors. A dissolution is in its essence an appeal from the legal to the political sovereign. A dissolution is allowable or necessary whenever the wishes of the legislature are, or may fairly be presumed to be, different from the wishes of the nation."¹

"When the leading sect in Parliament," says Bagehot, "is doing what the nation do not like, an instant appeal ought to be registered, and Parliament ought to be dissolved." (*The English Constitution*, p. 233.) The historian Green is still more emphatic :

¹ *Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution* (6th edition), pp. 376-77.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

"It is impossible to provide for some of the greatest dangers which can happen to national freedom by any formal statute. Even now a Minister might avail himself of the temper of a Parliament elected in some moment of popular panic, and, though the nation returned to its senses, might, simply by refusing to appeal to the country, govern in defiance of its will. Such a course would be technically legal; but such a Minister would be none the less a criminal."

That is the answer when the appeal is made from the "technically legal" to the constitutional. Let us finally take the evidence of Mr. Gladstone, with which Mr. Balfour made great play in the debate on the address. It is true that, in a letter to Lord Granville, dated January 8, 1874, Mr. Gladstone argued against resignation *without dissolution* :

"A Ministry with a majority, and with that majority not in rebellion, could not resign on account of adverse manifestations even of very numerous single constituencies without making a precedent, and constitutionally a bad precedent."

At this point Mr. Balfour's quotation stopped; but let us "read on," as Mr. Gladstone himself used to say :

"Only a very definite and substantive difficulty could warrant resignation without dissolution, after the proceedings of the Opposition in March last, when they, or at any rate their leaders and their Whips, brought the Queen into a Ministerial crisis, and deserted her when there." That is to say, Mr. Gladstone, unlike Mr. Balfour, had been defeated in the previous year and given his opponents an opportunity of forming a Government which they deliberately rejected. However, we need not labour the point; for, when the new Parliament met after the dissolution, Mr. Gladstone made one of his most interesting confessions of error :

"It is repugnant to my feelings, and not compatible with the best interests of the country, that a Government should continue to govern, even with a numerical majority, when there are daily increasing evidences that it no longer represents the will and opinions of the constituencies.

MR. BALFOUR AND THE CONSTITUTION

That is the regret of which I have to make a frank expression. Had I known as well as I know now what was to take place, it would not have been upon the 24th of January or the 24th of December, but at a much earlier period that my colleagues and myself would have advised the Crown to dissolve.”—(*House of Commons*, March 19th, 1874.)

Here, then, so far as Mr. Gladstone is concerned, is the clearest statement of the doctrine that a Prime Minister ought to dissolve Parliament when there are “daily increasing evidences that his Government no longer represents the will and opinions of the constituencies.” It need scarcely be added that politicians have always pressed this doctrine against each other. In 1895, when the Liberal Government of that period had only been in office for three years, and when the by-elections had shown no certain proof that the country was decisively against it, Mr. Balfour demanded a dissolution, in order that an opportunity might be provided of “seeing whether or not they were the legitimate holders of office.” Mr. Balfour then assumed what he now denies: that, in case of any serious doubt on the subject, it was the duty of the Prime Minister to dissolve Parliament, without waiting for a defeat in the House of Commons.

Sir Henry Fowler stated the matter with perfect correctness when he said that the theory of a fixed term of office for a Ministry was unknown to our system. The Septennial Act fixes a limit beyond which a Parliament may not last, not a term for which it must last or is entitled to last. The fixed term of office belongs, as Sir Henry said, to the American system or the French system; and in those countries the entire machinery of politics is adjusted to it. There is much to be said for this system; it gives all parties full notice of the consequences of an election, it saves the public from too frequent political agitation, it prevents surprise dissolutions and all the wasted effort and expenditure of false alarms. If the quadrennial period had been in force here, as in America, a decision on Mr. Chamberlain’s policy would have been taken last year, greatly to the peace and comfort of the community, and to the advantage of its

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

business interests. This, however, is not the British system ; and it is an entirely novel doctrine to treat the Septennial Act as if it provided a Government with a guaranteed term of office which expired at a given date. For the last two years we have lived in a chronic uncertainty as to whether the present Parliament might not be abruptly dissolved in the next week or the next month ; and, notwithstanding the new theory which is now submitted to us, no one doubts that, if it had suited his purpose to do so, Mr. Balfour would quite as cheerfully have ended the life of this Parliament as Lord Salisbury did that of the previous Parliament in 1900. The true doctrine is, as stated by Mr. Bagehot, Professor Dicey, and Sir William Anson, that a Ministry should retire or dissolve Parliament "when it is shown to have lost the confidence of the House or the country"—one or other, or both of these things.

Mr. Balfour's claim is, on the contrary, that the House of Commons itself should be the sole judge. He will go when defeated, but not otherwise. This means, practically, that the Party whose conduct is in dispute should adjudicate in its own case. The authorities whom I have cited know nothing of this claim. They all insist, or imply, that public confidence is the final test ; and the case which they are considering is precisely that in which a Prime Minister obtains the support of his Party in defying public opinion. It is doubtful, however, whether Mr. Balfour satisfies even his own test ; for, six weeks ago, the policy deliberately put forward by the Government on the Fiscal Question was defeated by a unanimous vote of the House of Commons. When reminded of that fact, Mr. Balfour appeals to a new and revised code of constitutional maxims, invented by himself to meet the emergencies of his singular position. A resolution of the House of Commons does not count, if he chooses to be absent, or if it is proposed by a private member, or if it deals with questions which are not to be the subject of actual legislation in the existing Parliament. In short, Mr. Balfour is not to be out, unless he gives himself out ; and, if the bowling is too hot, he can retire to the pavilion. On these principles a Government may last indefinitely, though it is out of touch, not only with the

MR. BALFOUR AND THE CONSTITUTION

public, but with its own followers on the question which most interests the country.

It seems to me particularly important to combat Mr. Balfour's theory that a Parliamentary challenge, involving the defeat of the Government, can be waived by the plea that the matter in question is not to be the subject of legislation in the existing Parliament. The House of Commons is the Grand Inquest of the nation; and it is entitled to hold the Government to account for its opinions as well as its acts. When a Government announces that it proposes to "reverse, delete, and annul," the fiscal policy of the country, it does something more than express an opinion. It acts powerfully in prejudice of that policy; and, so long as it exists, it throws the whole weight of official authority against it. It also inflicts great inconvenience and suspense upon the trade interests of the country. None of these results can be called academic; and, if ever there was a case in which a Parliamentary censure should count as fatal, it must be a case of this kind. Yet we have seen Mr. Balfour walking out of the House of Commons for fear his majority should desert him, and declaring the censure of the House to be of no effect because the question does not concern the present Parliament, or because it is raised by a private member. If these theories are accepted, we shall have a new liberty for Governments, and a fresh limitation of the power of Parliaments. The former, having once seized the reins of Government, will be able to use their position to promote movements and causes unauthorised by Parliament and against its wishes; the latter will be told, when it seeks to interfere, that it has no concern with matters which are not to be the subject of immediate legislation. It will be said that the remedy of a formal vote of censure remains; but, if Mr. Balfour's theory is accepted, there is no reason why it should not extend to that also, and a day refused for any motion which he chooses to describe as "academic." But a resolution condemning the policy of the Government is as much the act of the House of Commons when proposed by a private member as it is when proposed by a leader of Opposition; and a Prime Minister who lays down the rule that a private member's motion should have no validity, and

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

be followed by no practical results, seriously encroaches upon the rights of the House. If the House, as a whole, is to preserve any of its waning powers against the Executive and ex-Executive, it is essential that the private member should maintain his right of challenge against Mr. Balfour's reflection on it.

We thus see that the Prime Minister has, in the last two years, invented a variety of new maxims and precedents which, in their aggregate effect, tend to the divorce of Parliament from public opinion, and to the unchecked autocracy of any Minister who can command a majority for the period of the Septennial Act. It must be added, however, that it is only a Conservative Minister who could conceivably act thus. If we could imagine a Liberal Minister attempting to do as Mr. Balfour has done, these last two years, we may be quite certain that the House of Lords would have taken advantage of the state of opinion to block all progress and force an appeal to the country. That would be a perfectly legitimate exercise of the functions of a Second Chamber ; but for all constitutional purposes our Second Chamber in this country ceases to exist when a Conservative Government comes into power. We thus have a system which is all checks and balances, when a Liberal Ministry is in office, but which is without check or safeguard of any kind, when a Unionist Ministry takes the reins.

In these circumstances, it is brought home to us, that the British Constitution, instead of being the best in the world, may be turned into very nearly the worst by a Minister who chooses to disregard its unwritten obligations. Thanks to its Septennial Act, the British Parliament may be kept from contact with the electors for a longer period than the Parliament of any other considerable Power in the world. The limit of the French Parliament is four years, of the German five, and of the Italian five. The American House of Representatives get a certain proportion of new members every two years. Most of these countries have real vetos, Royal or Presidential, and other effective checks upon Governments which obviously set themselves against public opinion. Here we have no checks—at all events, when a Conservative Government is in power.

MR. BALFOUR AND THE CONSTITUTION

The objections to Mr. Balfour's procedure are not merely theoretical. It threatens us with long periods of government by Ministers who, having lost their power of carrying legislation or coming to important decisions, are wholly absorbed in the petty politics of escaping defeat. The Prime Minister has not thought at all of the annoyance, inconvenience, and unnecessary expense inflicted on the immense numbers of people whose occupations and interests depend upon politics—and whose do not in some degree?—by the incessant false alarms and smothered crises of the last two years. We can neither get away from political controversy, nor bring it to any decisive issue; and, all the while, there hangs over the business world the incessant threat of a change in commercial policy, which must affect the largest interests. All this follows inevitably when there is a general consciousness that the Government is irretrievably out of touch with public sentiment. Indeed, the smooth working of our unwritten constitution depends on the assumption that, when this stage is reached, a Prime Minister will resign his charge or dissolve Parliament. He is, in this respect, the guardian, not of his Party's interest, but of the public interest; and, unless he recognises this ultimate duty, the Constitution becomes an exceedingly imperfect instrument of the popular will.

The case is plain; but the remedies, I admit, are not easy to apply. The suggestion that the King should revive the prerogative of dissolving Parliament of his own initiative, is not one that a Liberal can entertain. The principle that the King acts on the advice of his Ministers needs to be guarded against all encroachment. My own opinion is, that the Septennial Act should be repealed, and the legal duration of Parliament reduced to five, or even four years. But, whatever the remedy may be, we cannot do wrong to record our dissent from the doctrine that a Prime Minister owes no deference to public opinion, so long as he commands a majority in the House of Commons. That is not only not the constitutional doctrine, but a positive inversion of it.

J. A. SPENDER

CHINESE LABOUR IN THE TRANSVAAL

THE introduction of Chinese Labour into the Transvaal is frequently described as the introduction of slavery.

If, however, indentured labour in itself deserves that title, slavery has never ceased in the Empire ; and the British Government, in 1834, merely freed one set of slaves to replace them by others. Indentured labour exists, indeed, in 18 British Colonies : and it is regulated by 150 Colonial Ordinances and 40 Indian Acts. But the system introduced by the Transvaal Ordinance differs in every possible way—law, administration, attitude towards labourers, and the motives for their employment—from those prevailing elsewhere. And herein lies the true objection to the scheme.

The whole law for the Chinese in the Transvaal is contained in the Ordinance of 1904. The Act is short. Of its 35 sections, eleven consist of definitions and technicalities ; two allow for the framing of Regulations by the Transvaal Government, and by that of Natal, through whose territory the labourers must pass ; two settle the duration of contract ; three arrange for the transfer of labourers ; two only are for their protection against arbitrary removal and against the withholding of pay by employers ; seventeen are purely restrictive.¹

These restrictions aim at preventing the three evils most dreaded in connection with the Chinese : their escape to other colonies, their permanent settlement in Africa, their competition with white men. To guard against these, the Ordinance contains drastic checks on the labourers'

¹ These numbers = 37 ; but two of the provisions named are in sub-sections.

CHINESE LABOUR IN THE TRANSVAAL

liberty, work, and career, quite unparalleled in other laws on indentured labour.

There appears to be little chance of the Chinese escaping from the Rand. They must reside on the "premises," which word is not defined, under a manager appointed by the employers ; they may only leave them with a written permit ; and then they must not be away more than forty-eight hours. The granting of permits is optional. The labourers must always carry passports to show on the demand of any police officer ; and they can be arrested without warrant if found without these papers. The penalty is £10 or one month's imprisonment ; and, throughout the Ordinance, any sentence may include hard labour.

Now, in all other colonies, indentured labourers enjoy a fair measure of personal liberty. They dwell, with their families, in separate huts, and can claim permits for periods varying from one to three weeks, after doing a certain amount of work. In some places, there are frequent roll-calls which all coolies must attend ; but that is to ensure medical inspection. A labourer, it is true, is liable to arrest for "desertion" if absent from work without leave beyond a certain time, *e.g.*, three days in Fiji, seven in British Guiana. But there must always be a warrant ; and, of all the Colonies, only Fiji imposes hard labour for breaches of the Ordinance. Mauritius,¹ in 1867, created a system of passports and police control, similar to that of the Transvaal ; but it was for ex-coolies only, and was abolished in 1871, as reducing immigrants to the level of convicts, and leading to gross abuses on the part of the police. The intention of the Ordinance of 1867 was to induce coolies to re-indenture, instead of becoming free labourers or turning to vagrancy. But the Regulations of 1868 and 1869 were more severe than this aim justified ; and the Executive Regulations were even harsher, and, in points, illegal. Under this system the ex-coolies had to buy various tickets, permits, a portrait, &c. ; if any of these documents were lost, they had to buy duplicates at an increased charge, and, while waiting for these, to buy "permits to work." The police

¹ Geoghegan's *Report on Indian Emigrants*, 1871, Brit. Mus., P.P., Vol. 47, 1874, pp. 91 *et seq.*

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

could enter their dwellings at any hour to inspect these papers. At frequent intervals the police would scour the country, and arrest as vagrants any Indian, at home or at work, as well as on the highways, who seemed to be an "ex-coolie under the Act," and whose papers were irregular, or were thought to be so by some policeman who could not read. In one year there were 7,000 cases of arrest by the police of persons who were innocent of breaking the law, or exempt from its jurisdiction, and 2,500 detentions of persons who were certainly not vagrants. Conviction was followed by sentences according to the Vagrant Code of 1842.

The Transvaal Ordinance contains eight sections dealing with the re-patriation of the Chinese, so that they shall never settle in the Colony. All coolies, with their families, are to be sent back by the Government, at the employers' expense, as the contracts expire. This is the one reference in the Ordinance, to possible family ties of the labourers. The Lieut.-Governor may also return any coolies if illness, insanity, or crime makes them useless as labourers, but not, as in Jamaica, if it is found they are badly treated or have been deceived. If any refuse to return they are to be punished, and then sent back forcibly. They are, further, forbidden to acquire or lease land, houses, or any property, nor may anyone give them work ; so that it really seems impossible for them to live in the colony after the contracts lapse.

There is nothing at all corresponding to this in the laws of other colonies for Indians. All, except Natal, though they grant a return passage if desired, encourage them to stay on as free permanent settlers. Time-expired coolies have their village settlements, their grants of land, the chance of investing savings, and of developing industries. In Mauritius, more than two-thirds of the whole population are Indian coolies, or their descendants ; and vital statistics show that they are the most robust race there. In Jamaica, ex-coolies conduct the entire banana industry, which is replacing the failing sugar-trade ; in British Guiana, they have saved the Colony the cost of importing rice by growing it themselves. Everywhere coolies have been allowed to hold land and property ; and the Colonial Governments

CHINESE LABOUR IN THE TRANSVAAL

report it as a good sign that they do invest their savings in this way, instead of taking them back to India. The coolies come, not merely as labourers, but as necessary and welcome additions to the population.

Five sections, and most of the penalties of the Transvaal Ordinance, deal with the last of the apprehended evils—the possibility that the Chinese will supplant the Europeans. The Ordinance stipulates that the immigrants shall be employed solely in unskilled labour—*i.e.*, that which is usually performed by natives—in exploiting minerals in the Witwatersrand District; and the text of the importers' and recruiters' licences, of the contract and its schedules, and especially the list of fifty-five trades forbidden to the Chinese, seem to secure this. Yet all who know the mines of South Africa consider this the weakest part of the scheme, and agree that the mine-owners cannot maintain these restrictions, even if they, at present, intend to do so. Already one has broken down; the post of "overseer of native labour," hitherto held by white men, may now be given to the Chinese, as they will not work under foreigners.

Then again, much skilled labour, performed by machinery which only Europeans may tend, can be done by hand, and then becomes unskilled. The term "exploitation of minerals" is also elastic. It may include building and other skilled work required for the personal needs of the miners; and other countries have found that the Chinese, introduced for hard manual toil, do succeed in entering light, skilled trades and businesses. A summary of public opinion on this restriction is, that if there were a few white men against many Chinese, the whites would go; and the other restrictions appear equally futile. If 300,000 Chinese—the number proposed—come, they will be equal to the whole population of the Transvaal; and the Government may not be able to deal with them as it wishes. "You cannot starve or imprison them, if they demand the rights of free men." The Chinese Government might insist on relaxation, just as the Indian Government interfered with the Natal law, which excluded its subjects from citizen rights. Moreover, if the wives come, they cannot be shut up; and their children will be British subjects. The interests of the mine-

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

owners are all on the side of relaxation ; and, as they have induced the Government to pass the law, so they can make the Government change it. They could even threaten to close the mines. Even under the existing law, however, employers, to save themselves trouble and expense, will be tempted to relax the conditions, and also to use the Chinese for any work on hand. They can urge, for instance, that it does not affect the country, what particular Chinamen are there, and so escape the cost of returning one set and bringing in others.

These are the sections that involve positive hardships to the coolies ; the faults of the rest of the Ordinance are those of omission. There is no protection from violence, injustice, or overwork, and very little against misrepresentation by employers. India has always insisted that the colonies employing her subjects should provide for them as human beings, who have families and friends from whom they may not be separated, and who are capable of preferences as to employer, place of employment, arrangement of dwellings, &c. There is, further, in these colonies, competition among employers ; and this strengthens the laws and helps to secure fair play, holidays, good conditions of work, and of every day life. There is no such competition in the Transvaal. The mine-owners form one body, the Chamber of Mines ; and it is this body of employers which engages all the labourers, by "previous" contract through its agents in China. The original plan was for the mines to count, technically as well as actually, as one employer, so that coolies could be sent to any part of the Rand at the mine-owners' will. But British sentiment, which has always opposed transfer without the labourer's consent, opposed this absolute power to move men over so wide an area as the whole Rand ; and therefore, by a slight change in the Ordinance, recruiters were empowered to engage labourers for some one group of mines, and the men can only be moved about within their own group. If they go to another group, *i.e.* to a "new licensed importer," they are considered as "transferred," and must be registered by the Superintendent.

The labourers, it is true, may not be moved to new dwellings or a new place of work, without a written per-

CHINESE LABOUR IN THE TRANSVAAL

mit ; but that is part of the policy which keeps every coolie under supervision. The other clause which protects the labourer is that which imposes a fine of £50, or one month's imprisonment, on any employer who withholds wages. But there is a penalty of £500, or two years' imprisonment, for employing the Chinese on labour other than unskilled, or for selling or licensing land to them or on their behalf.

As regards the labourers' assent to the terms offered, the Ordinance enacts that the official (Transvaal Emigration Agent) who licences recruiters and witnesses the signatures to the contract, must first explain the conditions, and then certify that he has done so, and that the labourers accept them—that is to say, he acts as his own witness.

Now the recruiting of Indian coolies, for the tropical colonies, is done under Indian, not Colonial laws ; labourers can be engaged only in their own districts, before their own magistrates, who act as independent witnesses. No Indian subjects can be taken to the ports till there is evidence that they are fit and willing, and that they fully understand the contract ; and Indian officials apply further tests at the depôts, before embarkation. The actual recruiters may be the agents of employers, as is the case in Mauritius ; but more often they act for the Colonial or Provincial Governments, and in all cases they work under the Protector, who represents the British and the Indian Governments on behalf of the immigrants.

The health of the labourer is rarely mentioned in the Ordinance. Employers must show, when they apply for licences, that they will have sanitary accommodation ready ; and the Governor of Natal, the "transit" State, is required to arrange for the medical examination of coolies as their ships arrive, and for the rejection and return of the unfit. This necessity for the coolies to pass through Natal is not likely to lessen the severity of the law. The immigrants are entirely under Natal Regulations, from landing at Durban to their arrival on the Rand ; and the coolie system in that colony is very much harsher and more controlled by employers than that of any other British colony.

The Regulations under the Ordinance deal with many

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

points usually incorporated in the body of the Law. In India, no natives can even be recruited till satisfactory Regulations are in force. But the Transvaal Ordinance was three months old, and many Chinese were ready to embark, before the Chamber of Mines agreed to such provisions as to wages as the British Government could pass ; and several demands were ignored or over-ruled altogether by the Transvaal Government, acting for the mine-owners. China insisted that there should be a Chinese official in the Transvaal to protect the coolies, and that his consent and that of the labourers should be necessary to make transfer valid ; but she did not secure the right of access to mines and dwellings, where the Consul or his agent could see the actual treatment of the men, nor legal protection from corporal punishment by employers or headmen.

The concessions to English demands include a fuller explanation of the terms, and especially of the various restrictions, in the text of the contract which is studied and signed by the labourers ; and there are some new provisions. Coolies are not to be separated from friends unnecessarily ; they may terminate their contract by paying the cost of their introduction. The provisions for health are still meagre. Recruits are not examined till they arrive at the depôts on the coast. They are in charge, during the voyage, of a Surgeon Superintendent, who is appointed by the Emigration Agent, and paid a small fee for each coolie carried. The Chamber of Mines charters the ships, and it overruled the English demand that 1,000 should be the maximum number of men on board. This is the legal maximum for Indian coolies ; but the practice, founded on long experience, is to carry an average of only 800. The requirements of the British Government as to medical staff were also overruled ; but it did secure, "in the mine-owners' own interests," higher fees for the Superintendent, and some provision, in the importers' licences, for good treatment during the voyage. English despatches, up to the day when the first ship-load of coolies sailed, expressed anxiety about the sanitary regulations, but were always met by Lord Milner's assurance that the coolies had been specially selected for health and fitness, that they were all kept under

CHINESE LABOUR IN THE TRANSVAAL

observation for twenty-five days before sailing, and that every possible precaution was taken. Yet, of the first ship-load—1,054 coolies under one surgeon and one Chinese assistant—three died on the voyage of sleeping sickness, forty more developed the disease before arrival and had to be sent home; and these, and other cases later at the mines, were all declared to be of long standing.

Coolies are to have medicine and attendance from the employers during sickness, but not free shelter or food.

The provisions made by other colonies to ensure health and comfort to the coolies are in strong contrast with the above. All Medical Superintendents, since the British Guiana enquiry of 1871, have been well paid civil servants, quite independent of the employers, and equal in status to the Protector. Many colonies—*e.g.*, Jamaica—insist that coolies be fed, sheltered, and even paid, during sickness; and all the Ordinances give full regulations as to hospitals, inspection, diet, &c., and impose heavy penalties on the employers for any neglect.

To English ideas, the fact that as yet only two wives have come out with the Chinese is the most striking defect of the Transvaal system. The Ordinance implies that the labourer may bring his wife; the later Regulations, at the instance of the British Government, stipulate that this shall be at the importer's expense, that children under sixteen may also come, and that the coolie may even send for them to join him at the mines. But there are conditions attached that render these concessions almost nominal. The labourer is to register full particulars of wife and children when he is recruited in China; a special licence is needed to import them, and this must not be given till the Transvaal Government is satisfied that there is suitable provision at the mines. Neither the Ordinance, nor the Regulations, nor even the Instructions to Recruiters, contain any guarantee that the coolies will know of this offer, or that the mine-owners will provide the necessary dwellings. The most favourable reports on the compounds, which are being adapted to Chinese needs, suggest defects in space and cleanliness, lack of separation of sleeping and living quarters, &c., which make them most unfit for women. On the other hand, to

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

provide dwellings would entail great expense and trouble to the employers. It so happens that the Chinese recruits have no wives, or do not wish to bring them ; but, if it were otherwise, the presence of families on the Rand would greatly increase the responsibility of the Government and the hostility of South Africa generally, while the dangers, even to morality, would exceed those of the present conditions if there were the slightest flaw in the arrangements made for transit, housing, and daily life.

The last question settled by the Regulations was that of wages. The British Parliament had been assured that the Chinese should receive at least as much as the natives ; they should therefore have a minimum daily wage of 1s. 6d. It was thought, too, that piece-work should bring in 50 per cent. more, and that both rates ought to be clearly specified in the contract. Lord Milner, however, refused to give more than his personal assurance that the Chinese would earn these amounts, on the grounds that a legal minimum wage tended to slackness. He promised, however, that all should be offered piece-work when it was practicable. The British Government persisted in demanding a fair minimum wage, or piece-work, open to all, and so arranged that all might earn this minimum without pressure ; it therefore rejected the mine-owners' promise to fix the daily minimum at 1s. (which was less than the rate to which they had tried to reduce wages after the war), and to offer piece-work to 60 per cent. of the Chinese on arrival. The Chamber of Mines, being anxious to set the Law, now twelve weeks old, in motion, agreed to a daily wage of 1s. 6d. ; but finally Lord Milner withdrew this concession and restored the 1s. rate, only promising to raise it to 1s. 6d. if, after six months, the average coolie's earnings were proved to be less than that of the natives.

This, then, is the Law governing Chinese Labour in the Transvaal. But, as Sir John Grant, speaking about laws for Indian emigrants, nearly seventy years ago, said : " The state of the law is a small matter compared with the state of public feeling and the administration of the law." Now, as the whole administration of the Ordinance is in the hands of employers, or of officials appointed by the Governor

CHINESE LABOUR IN THE TRANSVAAL

who has throughout represented the employers' interests, it will not be unfair to take the intentions of employers towards the coolies, which are shown in their original schemes and drafts, as some indication of the spirit in which the law will be executed. The Ordinance, as first drafted, did not require the labourers to know, or understand, or even sign their contracts; and the restrictions of liberty, promotion, etc., were not mentioned in the text. The Labour Association, as sole employer and importer, could send men to any part of the mining district; and no means were at first provided whereby the labourers could obtain access to the Superintendent, if they wished to complain.

Only as regards personal liberty were the original schemes more favourable than the Law now in force. The men were to live in settlements, as "traders object to the compound system"; and they might move freely within one mile of their work, "for the sake of health and trade." This was the single reference to the coolies' health which was made during the mine-owners' debates; and liberty of the labourers was scarcely more considered. One member suggested in the Council that twelve hours, instead of forty-eight, should be the time limit for permits of absence.

It is clear, then, that neither the Laws, nor the spirit of their administration, contain any of those safeguards for the Chinese in the Transvaal that exist elsewhere for Indian immigrants; and the atmosphere in which the coolies will work and move is created by social and political factors quite as unfavourable. Their employers are only interested in getting the largest return from their labour, while admitting that their presence is an evil; the Government is pledged to protect the rest of the Colony from this evil, by enforcing the restrictions; everyone else is pledged to get the Chinese out of the colony as soon as possible. If the restrictions break down, what is to protect them against the greed of employers, or the jealousy and hostility of the rest of the population? Other colonies receive Indians as the subjects of the same Empire; they are answerable for them to an ever-vigilant Government; they respect them for doing the work no one else in the colony can do, the work by which the colony lives. But the Chinese come to the

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Transvaal as rivals, to do work that others wish to do ; and they cannot depend on China for protection. For sixty years men have been emigrating from China ; and their Government kept no records, made no enquiry, as to their fate. It did not even make Regulations till now, though 300,000 men are estimated to have left the country and barely 500 to have returned, between 1847 and 1871. When, as in the case of Peru and the Pacific Islands, the traffic became too horrible, it was Portugal, and England, and the United States, that interfered in the interests of civilisation ; never China herself. Certainly, the Chinese emigrate to Malay, and endure many hardships for low wages ; but Malay allows them to become free labourers, traders, even settlers. And it is near their home. There are no such motives for migration to the Transvaal. Whether they come for the terms offered, or with the idea of defying the law, nothing but hopelessness or necessity at home could make the Chinese choose South Africa ; and it is just this idea of despair behind their formal consent that makes the whole scheme seem like slavery.

The men have no hope, either in submission or rebellion, no interest in their present or future ; they are forbidden by law to raise themselves, or to bargain with their masters. And the Government is not only pledged to maintain this law, but must do so for the labourers' own protection.

Indentured labour has been called "a modern system of enslaving men, differing from the former by the employment of fraud instead of force to make its victims captive." But men can be slaves without forcible capture or ill-treatment. They may be treated justly and kindly, they may even have legal rights against their masters ; but if they have lost or yielded the right to raise themselves by their own powers, to change their relations with their employers, and if Government enforces these relations, they are practically slaves. And this is just the position of the Chinese, as defined in the Transvaal Ordinance, though it is doubtful if their contracts would be held valid in English law.

To conclude. The Chinese have been brought to the Transvaal by a small, non-resident section of the population,

CHINESE LABOUR IN THE TRANSVAAL

for certain reasons that can be proved to be invalid or inadequate as soon as uttered; for certain other reasons, so opposed to all the true permanent interests of the colony, that they are not openly expressed at all. Yet the importers have been able to overrule the wishes of the whole permanent population, to ignore the warnings from fellow colonies, to defy public opinion at home, and to depart from all precedents in Labour Laws. Success may bring material gain, from larger output and reduced wages, for a limited time. But it can only benefit the mine-owners; it must bring evils, social and moral, and therefore lasting, to the whole colony. Failure, however, involves political disasters, troubles with the other colonies, which only the mine-owners, having no stake in the real interests of the country, will escape; and the whole system is so at variance with every tradition of fairness and humanity, that it seems it must fail, that public opinion will not long tolerate the legal enforcement of what is practically penal servitude on a large scale. Granting, as Lord Milner said, "that there is no reason in nature or common sense why the Chinese should not be used to fulfil a temporary need, without saddling the colony altogether," yet, if there is no place in the Transvaal for them to come in as free men, no safety to other races if they live under fair conditions, then they should not come in at all.

Mr. Bryce, looking forward to a time, less than one hundred years hence, when the exhaustion of the mines will have made South Africa again a pastoral country, says that "the real future of the colony depends on the amalgamation of the races, and that a wise policy will seek to achieve this by natural and human forces." So, a country must work for good, and guard against evil, long in advance; for "Heaven," quotes Mr. Bryce, "does not present its bills every Saturday night."

DORIS BIRNBAUM

PUBLIC FEEDING OF CHILDREN

CHILDREN must be fed, if they are to become vigorous men and women. Family life must be strengthened, if parents are to retain their self-respect, and children develop the sense of obligation which will make them good citizens.

The children whom the nation educates are often insufficiently fed. Statistics and doctors' reports are not necessary to prove the fact. Visitors to the schools in poor neighbourhoods may convince themselves that, whether it be from poverty, ignorance, or carelessness, many of the children are ill-nourished, unfit to benefit by the teaching they receive, unlikely to become vigorous helpers of their country. The obvious remedy is free meals. But family life owes much of its strength to the family meal, whose preparation and expectation keep together the hearts of mother and children. The dinner or the supper in the home feeds the memories as well as the bodies of the children. It stores in their minds the thought of their parents' care, it brings out their sympathy with one another's needs, it teaches manners, provokes common conversation, impresses the use of order. The family meal is thus the sacrament of family life, one of the means by which the home is kept together; and it is reverence for the home which makes the days of a people to be long in the land.

The provision of free meals, gradually extending through the population, would thus remove one of the bonds of family life. Good mothers would naturally think—do as a fact think—that an ample dinner in the school is better than anything they can provide. They save themselves the worry of preparation, they feel free to go out to work; and

PUBLIC FEEDING OF CHILDREN

so more and more of those little cares and graces which make up the home are lost. Fathers are less drawn homewards, and less impelled to press for higher wages ; and so money which would make a better home is missed. Here, then, is the problem. The children must be fed ; yet common feeding tends to relax the family life, which is as much the strength of a nation as the bones and muscles of its people.

The problem is the more difficult, because the nation, in its satisfaction at its increasing wealth, has allowed many of the sources of family life to dry up. The little England which made the greater England was more truly an England of homes than the England of to-day, with its aggregations of featureless streets and model dwellings. Our fathers, who remembered, it may be, a cottage and its garden, who grew up sharing their parents' interest in their work or their neighbours, could say and feel : "there is no place like home," and loved their country :

"Accounting her all living lands above,
In justice, and in mercy, and in love."

The change is shown by the remarks of the children who now go out of London to spend their holidays in the country ; they frequently tell their wonder at the fulness of the cottagers' life, the order of their meals, the housewife's care, the common interests in the family talk. The aliens, too, who settle in East London, are remarkable for their different habits as to the home. The Jewish mother rarely goes out to work ; and her one morning care is her children's meal. The English mother often hurries her child off to school with a bit of dry bread and a penny to buy anything ; the Jewish mother, whose circumstances are as poor, or poorer, will have ready at the dinner hour a dish of hot, fat, and nourishing food. The result is that, among the Jews, there are no underfed children, and, among many foreigners settled in London, family life holds together young and old, though their homes are as poor as those of their English neighbours.

In the great towns, the children in the streets are indeed lights in darkness. There are no children like

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the English, none so seriously happy and so free, none so loveable and so boldly original. But, as they grow up, they miss the inspiration and restraint of family life. They become wage-earners, and bargain with their mother for board ; they take their pleasures without their parents ; they keep themselves to themselves ; they do not recognise the obligation of being "good company" ; they are not intelligent, and are inclined to recognise no duty which cannot be enforced. There are faults in the English people to-day which may be traced largely to that decay of family life which has followed their aggregation in hordes, as if they had no other use than to be "instruments of production."

In our great towns, indeed, family life counts for so little, that many reformers become impatient if anything is said about its preservation. "The children are hungry, feed them ; your talk about the home is sentiment." "If meals are provided, the mothers will have more time for home work"—as if the children's care were not the chief home work. Well ; they may be so far right, that it is necessary to feed the children ; but they are not right in thinking that the family is irreparably lost as a factor in progress, or that well-fed individuals, untrained and undeveloped by home responsibilities, would form either a happy or a useful community.

The problem is thus complicated, both by the extent to which neglect has allowed the children's need to grow, and also by the indifference which has watched the relaxation of family life. The children's hunger is now greater than can be satisfied without the establishment of some machinery ; family life is so broken up that it hardly seems worth preservation.

The first step in the solution of a problem is a conception of the whole object desired. "Where there is no vision the people perished." What do we want ? A city of individuals, or a city of homes—a city where poor parents will surrender the care of the children, or a city where no one shall be too poor to have his own home, with sufficient room for family pleasure, and sufficient food for family strength—a city where the children will be fed at a barrack mess, or one where they will sit round a table wisely

PUBLIC FEEDING OF CHILDREN

and amply spread by a mother's skilled and thoughtful care, out of their father's just wages? The latter is surely the city of our vision. For its completion the State has much to do—common pleasures and common resources to supply—undue monopolies and unjust aggressions to reform; but the home varieties and home charms must be preserved which give interest to common intercourse, and educate the heart to become the source of thought. The French reformer recognised the value of such education. When he had drawn up an excellent scheme for the upbringing of all the children of the nation in national nurseries and homes, he made it a part of the constitution of his scheme, that each committee in charge of one of those institutions should include at least five experienced fathers of families. Many reformers, like the Frenchman, forget that the success of their schemes depends on home or spiritual influences, which their schemes destroy.

The influences of family life are still strong, though they have been so broken up and disregarded. The institution may be said to be in a transition state. The old patriarchal authority, which required unquestioning obedience, is going, as surely as the old parental authority which had the power of life and death is gone. In the family of the future, parents will be less tyrannical and more courteous; and children will be less servile and more appreciatively respectful. It will allow for more freedom, for more independence, and for stronger individualities; but it will be as great a school of feeling as in the past. A transition state is one which needs delicate handling. Family life among the masses of the people is unstable; and a rash interference with duties long recognised as obligatory would greatly prejudice its advance. Family life, it may be said, is not "going out," any more than "nationalities" are going out; both are "going on" to a higher level. Because family life is not dead, because its influence is necessary in the city of our vision, it is very important to discover how the children may be fed, and family life be strengthened for its development in the future.

The ideal way would be, that personal care should meet individual need. It is conceivable that, while people with

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the power to give help so far outnumber the people who need help, a friend might be found to search with patience for the cause of each case of ill-nourishment. The causes are many. It is sometimes ignorance, which gives ample food but not of the sort which has any value. Love without knowledge feeds babies on cake, and children on tinned meat. It is sometimes disease, which, for want of treatment, consumes the child's life. It is sometimes carelessness, which lets dirt accumulate and the children shift for themselves. It is sometimes poverty. The cause might in each case be discovered and then dealt with. It is conceivable, in a country in which so many people call themselves Christians, that enough might be found who, following their Master, would bear their neighbours' sins as well as their poverty. A friendly and self-giving interest would often take away the ignorance or the carelessness; and a generous and wise gift would often prevent poverty.

But, even if it may be hoped that Christian charity may some day put on modern garments, and in the old spirit serve present needs, still the cry presses. "The children starve; they cannot wait till love revives; they must be fed." Then the practical way is at once to establish some machinery by which dinners may be provided.

Sir Charles Elliott, a notable administrator and a devoted servant of London children, sets out a complete scheme in the May Number of the *Empire Review*. His article is valuable as a summary of past history and experience. His proposal is, that a Relief Committee in each necessitous school shall control officials—inspectors and others—appointed by the education authority, and a fund supplied by voluntary subscriptions, that members of the Relief Committee shall make enquiries into home conditions, that every underfed child shall be provided with food, and that the cost shall be recoverable from parents able to pay. Sir John Gorst, who is crowning his career as the children's representative in Parliament, by his passionate protest against the neglect which has left so many underfed in the schools, differs only from Sir Charles Elliott as to the remedy, in that he would employ an official committee using public money.

PUBLIC FEEDING OF CHILDREN

Great is the controversy between advocates of food supplied by voluntary subscriptions, and that supplied by rates or taxes. There is much to be said on each side, much which, from an administrative point of view, is important ; but, after all, the effect on the recipients is in either case the same. It does not in the least matter, as far as family life is concerned, out of what pocket the money comes. The eternal distinction of Charity is that it is personal, the gift of man to man, warmed by feeling and guided by knowledge, where the gift and the giver go together. The State can by no lavishness take the place of such charity ; and, even when Charity creates a fund, which it administers through offices and officials, the personality is lost, and the recipients feel nothing of the power of personal care and thought.

The objections to such a "practical way" of solving the problem are the same, whether it be undertaken by committees of visitors or by some official body. In the first place, trust in the power of selecting is doomed to disappointment. There is no inspector, there is no human knowledge, which can decide what parent should, and what parent should not, be bound to feed his own children. There is no human being who will not feel humiliated at being called on to justify his poverty to a stranger, and take his place among the dependants. There are no human beings, either, who will not feel themselves unfairly treated when, after the exertion of self-denial to feed their children, they hear that better-off and more careless or more selfish parents have received help.

In the first place, therefore, these attempts to decide by investigation, these summonses to parents to disclose the secrets of home which ought to be sacred, these provocations to inter-family jealousies, prejudice the strength of family life ; and, in the second place, the public provision of the common meal gradually does away with the meal, which is often the strength of the home, as a meal has in other times been found to be the strength of a tribe, a guild, or a church.

The Local Government Board has now issued its Order authorising Guardians to give the children food, and to use

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

their judgment in treating the cost as a loan, recoverable from the parents. The Order, put into plain language, is a direction to increase out-relief in the shape of free dinners, and has all the disadvantages just noticed, with the added disadvantages which belong to the system of Poor Law relief. There will be humiliation on the part of parents forced into association with the destitute; there will be indignation at evident injustice. There will be marked variety of administration. One Board of Guardians will do nothing for anybody; another will do everything for everybody. As the Order now stands, the poorest London rate-payers will have to bear the heaviest charges; if the Order is amended, and the charge placed on some common fund, local extravagance will be encouraged.

The advocates of all these practical methods make a great boast of their invocation of the law to compel parents to fulfil their responsibilities. But here, again, experience shows that it is hard to measure degrees of neglect—very hard for any outsider, or any magistrate, to decide how far excuses are valid; and almost impossible to get convictions which reach the moral sense of the community. After all this examination, therefore, of suggested solutions of the problem the question still recurs: "Can the children who are now underfed be provided with food, without blighting the influences which surround family life? Is it possible to give food without wounding anyone's self-respect, and leave to the parents the ennobling duty of providing and preparing the family meal?" The essential qualification seems to me to be universality of relief. There must be no attempt at distinguishing between characters, no assumption of power to judge between deserving and undeserving, no marking off a class as a "dependent" or a "pauper" class, nothing which may increase in the nation habits of suspicion or of cringing.

Two suggestions have been made.

(1) A breakfast of porridge, with milk and treacle, might be prepared in certain central schools at 8 o'clock, open to all school children, so that none might feel humiliated by coming, or aggrieved by being refused. The mischief of selection would be avoided. The food would be such as

PUBLIC FEEDING OF CHILDREN

amply to sustain the children's strength ; and its provision would not interfere with the preparation of other meals—dinner or supper—which, in the parents' eyes, are more important. The early hour would call out effort, and perhaps induce earlier hours of going to bed. The meal should of course be daintily served, so as to encourage a care for order in eating ; and it should be presided over by teachers, so that the children might have the sense of being guests to be entertained, and not just animals to be fed. The plan has been tried ; and the responsible manager reports the satisfaction of children, teachers, and parents. But, as he truly says, it is not certain that the breakfasts would be so well received if “given by order and not as a personal matter.” This particular manager's intimacy with all concerned brought into the provision that personal element which made it, in the peculiar sense, “charity.”

(2) Another, more simple, and perhaps better suggestion is, that the Managers in every school should, without any distinction, provide the children with milk, and that the teachers should see to its consumption. The milk would be food exactly fitted to the children's needs ; the habit of its use would prevent habits of unwise eating and drinking ; and—what is most important—the parents would in nowise feel themselves relieved from the duty of providing the regular meals. The present consumption of milk, it should be remembered, is far below what it ought to be, if the bodies of the people are to be properly nourished. The adoption of this suggestion would not, it may be added, interfere with the personal charity whose growing activity is a happy sign of the times. As society becomes more and more a city of friends, citizens able to guide, to teach, or to help, will be found to touch the causes, be they ignorance or carelessness or selfishness, of which the underfed child is only a symptom. Such charity has already accomplished much in this generation.

It may be claimed then that the porridge breakfast or, better, free milk, meets the immediate needs of the ill-nourished children. And it leaves unsilenced in the ears of parents those calls which, irritating to their love of ease, are yet divinely ordered for their good. Parents would still feel

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the duty of gathering their children together to share their meals; society would still feel the duty of going deeper into the causes of poverty. It would be a bad day for parents if, because the children were provided for, they themselves were free of responsibility; it would be a worse day for society if, because it had taxed itself to give food to the children, it felt satisfied to give up caring that rents are too high, wages too low, and education insufficient.

It may not always be a disgrace to poor parents that their children go to school unfed, though, in view of what the aliens do for their children, a little healthy reprobation would not be out of place. But it is a disgrace to rich society that the people perish for want of air, for want of water, for want of knowledge, for want of the care neighbours might give to neighbours, landlords to tenants, or employers to employed. The provision of porridge or milk in the schools would secure the children nourishment, and still leave parents and society face to face with undone duties.

SAMUEL A. BARNETT

LONDON AND THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS

THE Report on the London Voluntary Schools which is now before the County Council has roused more than ordinary interest. It throws upon the rates an estimated capital expenditure of a million and a half, and an annual expenditure of a quarter of a million ; and this quite apart from the cost to the private managers and owners of the school-buildings.

The Report itself is a monument of industry. Twelve hundred closely-printed pages of summaries and statistics form a mighty, almost unassailable argument. Four hundred and thirty-eight schools have been considered in detail ; their class-rooms and their teachers have been inspected. And the report contains precise suggestions for the improvement of schools and staff.

We need not be surprised if such a Report has provoked a good deal of criticism and some indignation ; nor even if some critics have given vent to their indignation without first studying or appreciating the exact scope and meaning of the Report. It is humanly certain that none but those, whose business it has been to study the Report in sections from week to week for the last six months, ever will read it through. The rest must be content with partial—often very partial—selections.

The first thing then is to realise, as accurately as we can, what is reported and what is proposed. As regards the buildings, we learn that, while a few are quite satisfactory, a quarter are wholly unsuitable for school purposes, and incapable of adaptation ; and that, of the remainder, the large majority, even with the suggested improvements, will

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

be unfit for permanent approval. Halls and teachers' rooms rarely exist. Play-grounds are scarce and scanty : scarcest and scantiest where they are most needed. The class rooms are often ill lighted, ill ventilated, and overcrowded. The drains are defective in three-quarters of the schools. The staff is often inadequate, almost always ill trained. The work done is astonishingly good, considering the conditions.

There is nothing in all this that will surprise anyone who has been interested in London education. It shows that, for years past, the children have been sacrificed to the schools, and that a considerable amount of public money has been wasted in attempting to do costly work under impossible conditions.

Nor does any blame attach to those who built these schools. In 1870, there were known to be 200,000 children in London needing schools. Buildings of all sorts were erected and crowded. Many mistakes were inevitable ; and these mistakes had to be made, not one at a time, but ten and twenty at a time. It was not till 1880 that the ' modern ' school-building began to appear. The suburbs which have sprung up in the last twenty years have no bad buildings. The older quarters are filled with schools, Board and Voluntary, built between 1860 and 1880, which were very welcome then, but are now rightly condemned. Year by year the School Board has been forced to remodel or rebuild its own old schools, at a cost of £8,000 to £20,000 apiece. The Council has inherited at least fifty schools which still need to be re-modelled.

Partial critics complain that so much attention is paid to mere bricks and mortar in elementary schools. We are told to contrast the class rooms at Eton or Harrow. There is a fraction of truth in this, which is worth appreciating. It is quite true that if a teacher in an elementary school were offered our old sixth-form room at Rugby, he would be shocked and dismayed. But then he would picture the room with ninety boys, and would assume that, with the aid of an ex-pupil-teacher, he would be expected to teach these boys for six hours a day. When he learnt that the class would never be more than twenty-five or thirty, his dismay would vanish quickly enough. When he learnt that he

LONDON AND THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS

would only be expected to teach them as a class for two or three hours a day, he would think he had fallen on easy times. I do not suggest that he would be right. I do say that the conditions of teaching are so different that to compare the two rooms is to darken counsel with words.

But why, we shall be asked, should the classes in elementary schools be twice as big as in secondary schools? There is no good answer. But the reason why is clear enough—because of the expense. The cost of the building is a mere fraction of the cost of the staff. A school for 1,000 children costs £20,000 to build: £1,000 a year covers interest and sinking fund. It costs £3,000 a year to staff; and, if it were staffed as a secondary school is staffed, it would cost at least £5,000. This is an explanation, not a justification. The teacher in an elementary school need not be so highly qualified as in a secondary school. But thirty boys from poor homes need just as much training, discipline, stimulus, inspiration—call it what you will—as thirty boys from well-to-do homes. Meanwhile, it is clear why the teacher who has to teach fifty or sixty boys for six hours a day is far more concerned with the mere material conditions—the lighting and arrangement of the room—than the teacher who teaches twenty-five or thirty boys for three or four hours.

Returning now to the actual proposals for the improvement of the voluntary (non-provided) schools, it will be noted that, in the matter of staffing, the scheme is comparatively generous. In small and badly-built schools the staff is always bound to be costly. But even in the larger schools—those with upwards of 200 places—the Report contemplates a distinctly smaller number of scholars per teacher than in the Council's schools.¹ Partly, but by no means wholly, this is due to the use of less highly trained teachers. I welcome smaller classes anywhere, provided always that

¹ The average class in the Council's schools is 55 on the roll, 48 in attendance. The staff proposed for a non-provided school with 200 to 250 places is Head, four certificated, two uncertificated assistants. The Committee expects that the new scheme of salaries will attract sufficient teachers. I doubt it. The scheme is a great improvement; but it does least where most was needed—for the women. There are now over 500 vacancies in the Council's own schools.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

good teachers are to be obtained ; and only trust that the Council will see its way next to raising the staffing of its own schools to the level of the staffing in the non-provided schools.

As regards buildings, we have two quite distinct questions : first, What can be done to improve the building ? second, How many children can the building accommodate ? It is round these two questions that the battle is bound to be fought, and that the greatest amount of misunderstanding and misrepresentation has occurred.

Many persons honestly believe that the Council is requiring the managers to bring their schools up to the present standard of school building. Far from it. The standard that has been applied is a standard that was out of date twenty years since. The statement seems extreme. It is literally accurate. The advance between 1880 and 1885 was rapid. But it would be true to say that the standard required from the Voluntary schools is not equal to the standard the School Board had reached in 1880.

Every page offers examples. Selections are necessarily partial and unconvincing. But a few passages from the architect's general report, which consists of one page only (p. 705 of Appendix A), will make my point sufficiently clear. Some 25 per cent. of the schools are, he says, utterly unsuitable, cannot be improved, must be condemned. The rest are classed as suitable with alterations. Some of them are good schools, built in the last few years. But a very large proportion of the whole need very considerable alterations. The staircases are not only bad, but positively dangerous for children—insufficient in case of fire, and inconvenient for daily use. Divisions of rooms, galleries, passages, staircases, are suggested ; and in each case, if these are carried out, a fairly workable school will be secured. But it must always be remembered that, when all is done, they will fall very far short of the standard that has obtained for the last twenty years ; and the Council must be prepared to regard even these as fulfilling their purpose only for a limited time. Cloak-rooms are often inconvenient, sometimes non-existent. Lavatory accommodation is deplorable. The teachers have no room in which to spend the mid-day

LONDON AND THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS

interval. There are, of course, no halls or rooms for science or for art teaching. There is a sad absence of playgrounds in districts where they are most needed.

In face of such a Report, it is clear that the standard has not been unreasonably high. The question arises, rather, whether the standard has not been unreasonably low. The cost of these improvements falls on the Managers, and the Managers are poor. But have not the children a right to fair conditions? Have not the rate-payers a right to demand that, if their money is freely spent on these schools, it shall at least not be wasted because the Managers cannot afford to do their part? Was it not the avowed and accepted reason and end of the Act that the children in Voluntary schools should have the same advantages as those in Board schools? Now the Managers are powerful and alert, the children are weak, and the rate-payers sleepy; so children and rate-payers are sacrificed, once more, to the Managers.

So much for the buildings. There remains the question of accommodation. How many children can these buildings, when improved, properly accommodate? The present accommodation goes back—like the buildings themselves—to the days of 1870, when 200,000 children were known to need school-places, and every school-room, no matter how dark or how awkward, was filled to the utmost. Eight square feet of floor-space per child was accepted as adequate; and what was accepted then became a vested interest, and in most cases still survives. The Royal Commission of 1886 took a large amount of evidence on the point. The majority of that Committee was certainly not liberal. It included such men as the late Archbishop Temple. But the Committee unanimously reported that eight square feet were not sufficient, and that in boys' and girls' schools at least ten square feet should be required. The Managers successfully maintained their right to overcrowd their schools. Sir William Hart-Dyke decided that where the School Board chose to supply sufficient accommodation to provide ten square feet per child for all who wished it, the Education Department would not prevent it. He did not dare to interfere with the vested right of the Managers. Under Sir John Gorst, a series of shifty letters led up to

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

a hesitating refusal to recognise the right of the children to ten square feet, even where the School Board was willing to provide the necessary accommodation.

The County Council now proposes to require ten square feet in boys' and girls' schools, and nine square feet in infants' schools. The decision, so far as infant schools are concerned, is regrettable ; but, in view of the attitude of the Board of Education, quite inevitable. Infants probably need more space than older children, both for health and for effective teaching. But it would be unwise to make demands which the Board of Education would not support. Even the present demand will be bitterly opposed by the Managers, and grudgingly supported by the same Board of Education which (quite rightly) requires at least eighteen square feet per child in all new secondary schools.

The Report proposes to sweep away 68,940 places. But many of these are now empty ; and many are recognised by the Managers as not available. The cost of making good the consequent loss of accommodation will fall on the Council, and is estimated at a capital outlay of £1,500,000, or an annual charge of £70,000 (App. F., p. 3). The increase in the cost of the staff now proposed, as compared with the cost of the staff when the schools were taken over, is estimated at £60,000 a year (App. C., p. 233). The cost to the Managers of the alterations required is not estimated, as it does not fall on the Council. A great part of the cost will arise in connection with the drains ; but the total cost must be very heavy.

It is the more to be regretted, that the Report does not make it clear which schools will be really satisfactory when the present requirements are carried out, and which will even then only be suitable for a limited period. Assuming (what I do not admit) that, in view of the probable attitude of the Board of Education, it was necessary to conciliate opponents and to ask for far less than the children have a right to, yet it would have been only fair to the Managers themselves to state explicitly how far the present requisition is likely to be final. The Managers have a right to know that, if they spend the £500 now demanded, they will not be asked, five years hence, entirely to remodel

LONDON AND THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS

their school. The present outlay will be, in fact, an obvious bar to such demands, however right they may be.

In fact, reading through this Report, one cannot but feel how far the present inadequate demands must strengthen the vested interests of the Managers, as against the public and the children. We are told that, if adequate demands had been made, the Managers would have closed all their schools. It is not likely ; in the majority of cases the school is not theirs to use otherwise. But assume that they could, and did ; assume that, instead of 50,000 places, the Council had to provide 200,000. Even then I doubt if the rate-payers would have grudged the cost. Interest and sinking fund would cost them a penny and two-thirds ; and, in return, the whole of the children would have had new schools, with good class-rooms, and halls, and playgrounds. As it is, the children and teachers in non-provided schools are doomed, for many years, to work under inferior and unfair conditions.

The present Report represents, of course, only the "first reading." Assuming that, before these lines are published, the Report has been adopted by the Council, and the requisitions have been sent to the Managers, the most critical stage has yet to come. The Managers have the right of appeal to the Board of Education ; and the Board of Education has the right of finally deciding whether the requirements have been reasonable or not. I confess that if the Board of Education were to reject the whole of the Council's demands, I should scarcely regret it. The present suggestions, if adopted, will undoubtedly produce a great immediate improvement ; but they will also constitute a grave obstacle to farther progress. An enemy of Voluntary Schools might find some mean consolation in the thought that they secure the continued and increasing inferiority of dangerous rivals. If he is wise, he will realise that such vested interests in inefficiency have long been, and are likely long to be, the subtlest and gravest enemies of all progress.

G. L. BRUCE

THE CALL OF THE EAST

THE Central Asian Society has recently published a most interesting paper by Baron Suyematsu, entitled *Chinese Expansion Historically Reviewed*. The paper is divided into three parts. The first describes the growth of China from the country round the Hoang Ho until the Chinese Empire included all that we now know by that name. The distinctive feature of that extension was, as Baron Suyematsu points out, that it was an extension not based on aggressive conquest ; it is impossible to say of any part of China that its inhabitants came from some other place and seized the land and settled there, in the same way as we can say, for instance, that the Teutonic invaders seized on and inhabited Britain. The origin of the human races that history finds settled in what we now know as China is lost in antiquity. All that we know is that, when these races attacked, were attacked by, or came peacefully into contact with, the highly civilised society that existed on the banks of the Hoang Ho, they became Chinese. "The moment," says Baron Suyematsu, "they came in contact with the Chinese, they discovered their inferiority ; and whatever sort of civilisation they might have had among themselves was soon eclipsed by the higher Chinese civilisation, and they became Chinese."

The second part of the paper deals with Korea and Manchuria, and shows, first, how Korea acted as a link between the Chinese civilisation and the Japanese, and, secondly, that the political hold of China upon Korea was always nominal rather than real.

The third part, entitled "Conclusions," deals with the present situation and prospects of China and Japan ; and

THE CALL OF THE EAST

it is with Baron Suyematsu's remarks on this subject that this article principally intends to deal. Baron Suyematsu points out that there are in the world now three civilisations, the Chinese, the Indian, and the European ; and acknowledges the indebtedness of Japan for her civilisation to China. But he says, that now "Japan has already cast in her lot with the Occident," and "aspires to elevate herself to the same plane, and to press onward in the same path of civilisation as the countries of the West."

If this were the only meaning of the advent of Japan into the arena of international politics, the interest of her arrival, and the hopes entertained of her by many, would be considerably lessened. Baron Suyematsu, in uttering the above sentences, was refuting the absurd charge against Japan, that she is organising a Pan-Asiatic military league against Europe ; also, no doubt, he was swayed by courtesy towards his audience. If the advent of Japan to Europe is to be nothing more than the addition of some forty million people to our grey and perplexed civilisation, we should thank the Mikado for nothing. The whole interest of the situation lies in the fact that, through Japan, another civilisation, with new ideas and new moralities, has asserted its equality, if not superiority, to our own ; that that civilisation has borrowed from ours, without being absorbed by it—has merely toyed with it, just as some old beauty traffics with a boy. Japan has given much already, and will, no doubt, give much more of essential value to Europe ; it is doubtful if she will ever take from us anything more than trains, telegraphs, and guns. And, before accepting completely Baron Suyematsu's flattering assurance, it may be well to consider the more important points in which the individuals and nations nurtured on this civilisation of China differ in character from us, with a view to seeing, not only what we may do for them, but what they may do for us.

The effect of one at any rate of the root distinctions between the two civilisations is to be observed in the often told story of that gallant front rank of a storming party at Port Arthur, who intentionally threw their bodies on the bayonets of the defenders, in order that the second rank might walk over both body and bayonet into the defender's

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

fort. This was not a mere act of what we call bravery on the part of the Japanese soldiers. It was the bravery of another civilisation, an act which no modern European soldiery would do. The brave European will take any risk there is ; if there is only one chance in a million he will take it, and take it cheerfully. But there must be just that one chance ; in vulgar parlance, that one chance is implied even in the expression "certain death." In ancient days we can find in Europe the same absolute spirit of self-abnegation and sacrifice as is now to be found in the Japanese. But that was before the lines of our civilisation diverged so markedly from the lines on which theirs has developed ; to-day the European is too conscious of his own individuality, too uncertain of his duties to the race, and too distrustful of the race's consciousness of its obligations to him, to sacrifice himself unhesitatingly for the general cause. To put it shortly, the Japanese civilisation has produced the greatest triumph of the social instinct, the realisation by the individual of his nothingness and unimportance in comparison with the good of his race ; and the Japanese successes illustrate the advantage that collectivism has over individualism.

In searching for the causes of this wonderful self-effacement and sense of duty in the Japanese, it is neither true nor necessary to attribute it to racial distinctions. The early history of European peoples contains frequent stories of acts like those of the front rank at Port Arthur, undertaken usually in defence of the body of a chief. In order to produce this spirit in human beings (without employing religion) it is submitted that two things, both interdependent on one another, are necessary. The first is, that every man shall know for a certainty that, whatever happens to himself, his welfare, and the support of himself and those dependent on him, are matters for which society will in any event hold itself responsible, and that as a matter of duty, not of charity. The second is the intellectual accompaniment of the first—namely, that every individual shall be taught and convinced that his duty as a citizen is his first and only duty, and that it is impossible for him to have any interests materially divergent from that unit of the State

THE CALL OF THE EAST

(usually his family) to which he belongs. Once these two conditions co-exist in a state or civilisation, men can be produced who are as indifferent to death as any religious fanatic. Similarly, no amount of work or hardship which is physically possible becomes too great for them; and reason unaided produces a spirit of self-sacrifice as complete as any that the most emotional religions have called forth. The individual becomes lost in the family; he was alive in it before birth, he lives in it after death, he will support and be supported by it while he lives.

The above conditions and results have been obtained more completely in the Chinese civilisations than among any other branch of the human race. The community of family obligation, the continuity of the family life, find their logical expression in the so-called ancestor-worship of China and the Shintoism of Japan. It will be observed that the theory is singularly in accord with modern scientific theory, just as it is in violent contrast with the Christian doctrine, according to which the act of conception creates the immortal soul. "The soul of Japan," as the Baron quotes, has indeed turned what is in China a dull legal fact into a series of flaming heroisms; but, behind them both, stands the same principle, logically pursued to its conclusion.

The true interest of the present situation surely lies, not in what we shall do for this civilisation, but what it will do for us. Taught by force, as perhaps was necessary, the European will no longer be able to consider the yellow races as inferior peoples. He has to realise that he is now to be thrown, on terms of equality, into direct intellectual contact with a new people, whose civilisation is inconsistent with Christianity, whose test of morality is utility, and to whom the value of the individual is only his value to the community. The moment at which this new force is thrown into Europe is one in which the rampant individualism of the mid-Victorian age is being subjected to the gravest scrutiny. It is difficult to believe that our domestic politics will not be affected by a better knowledge of the Japanese.

The effect that such knowledge will have on international politics will, there is reason to hope, be pacific. "The very basic principle of Chinese civilisation," says

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Baron Suyematsu very truly, "is essentially pacific." A civilisation which is primarily utilitarian and rational could scarcely be anything else ; and the long peaceful history of China may well give the civilisation of Europe pause. But, once war is in existence, such a civilisation treats it as it is ; and, whether it be Boxer rebels or Japanese troops, to them death is an incident, and nothing more. Japan will bear the highest place among the nations of history, if she can convince Europe that war means death, and never, and under no circumstances, glory. To the Chinese civilisation, as the Baron quotes, militarism is a degradation or disgrace. It is in no way inconsistent with this spirit that Japan, unlike China, has produced such splendid soldiery. The strength and numbers of the Chinese have made it unnecessary for them to develop their military forces. History has been less gentle with the Japanese, and, from time to time, wars of self-preservation have been forced on them.

There is another side of the life of Europe which can scarcely fail to be affected by the ideas of the civilisation of Japan and China : the social side. Chinese civilisation differs principally, as has been pointed out in a previous article in this REVIEW,¹ from that of Europe, in that it accepts man as he is, and not as somebody else thinks he ought to be. To such a civilisation, the notion that pleasure can ever be wrong merely because it is pleasure, is naturally absurd. It is not so long since certain sects in this country used to condemn pleasure for itself ; and the idea still survives with some force in the northern parts of this island. To the Chinese and Japanese civilisations, no pleasure can be other than good which does not unfit the individual for his service, whatever it may be, to the community. No more frank recognition of this fact is to be found than the institution of the Geisha in Japan, or, to take a corresponding instance in China, of the "flower-girls" at Nankin. The profession of these girls is to give pleasure. The Geisha, it is scarcely necessary to point out, do not belong to the prostitute class in Japan ; they are simply recognised entertainers. They are trained to know and humour the foibles of mankind : to dance, talk, and sing

¹ See INDEPENDENT REVIEW, April, 1904, pp. 349-359.

THE CALL OF THE EAST

in the manner most approved of men. Towards the conclusion of a Japanese dinner, some hired Geisha come in to entertain the guests. When a Japanese entertains, his wife does not preside or appear ; her functions, highly honoured, are different. The society of Japan and China is male ; the charms and graces that feminine society gives are there supplied by the Geisha, a class trained and set aside for the purpose. The frank recognition of the fact that many women, though unsuited for the position of wives and mothers, may yet, without dishonour, devote themselves to giving pleasure, is one which might perhaps have lessened the acidity of the now somewhat decadent movement towards female emancipation in this country.

Whether these features of the Far Eastern civilisation are congenial to one or not, on the result of them all who have visited Japan will agree ; and that is, that they produce the happiness of those who live under them. Nothing is more striking in Japan than the happy, joyful faces that meet one everywhere. The crowds are mostly composed of laughing and obedient children and smiling women ; the men are equally happily at work. In China, though it is less apparent, the same happiness prevails. The teeming population, always working, is yet always cheerful, always ready to laugh. All who have been in difficult situations up-country in China appreciate how invaluable is the use of a joke. An angry crowd is readily turned into a friend, even to the foreigner, if he only has the wit to touch their sense of humour. A joke is recognised as a blessing, and its maker is a benefactor. In many ways a Far Eastern crowd resembles the crowd of Europe : it gives the same impression of an over populated country, a greater impression of sustained industry. But it is a happier crowd, with faces less dull and unintelligent. With the Eastern, the struggle for existence, though no less keen, has not developed into anarchy ; and from this kindness the poorest profit most.

In so far as it is possible to come to any general conclusion upon the effects that a better knowledge of the civilisation of the Far East will have upon Europe, it seems fair to say that they will not be such as Liberalism should

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

dread. The forces of our society which are opposed to the new influences are those of clericalism and militarism. Any view of life which tends towards a freer and kinder life, and which encourages art and industry, should be welcomed by all Liberal thinkers, even at the cost of estranging the Non-conformist conscience. Baron Suyematsu, at the end of his paper, vigorously defends Japan from the charge of organising a Pan-Asiatic league ; and stigmatises the charge as persecution. "It is like," he says, "turning round upon an apt pupil whom one has oneself trained. . . ." just because "he belonged to a different set and had grown a trifle more quickly than one had expected." The friends of Japan will before long have to defend her from a graver charge. In Europe we can even forgive a league against us, so long as we can detect in it some compliment to ourselves ; and our quarrel with Japan because she has been an apt pupil can never be serious. Japan must expect, before long, a fiercer opposition, when it is realised that she is not a mere pupil. She must then expect the hatred that awaits those who carry new ideas. But "the soul of Japan" need not be troubled. New ideas are established before the haters of them discover what they are. The humour of it is, that the very men who, to-day, are most scornful of the "Yellow Peril," will, in the time to come, most fiercely proclaim the peril of the new ideas.

A. M. LATTER

CATHOLICISM AND MORALS

“**N**EVER was there so great a show of wisdom, nor such restless and world-wide activity in so many branches of study, as in the last forty years . . . yet never did such ignorance and error reign as now . . . For more sins sway the world in these days than in any previous age ; and sin is incompatible with true learning . . . Therefore, since men’s lives contradict the laws of Wisdom, they cannot possibly understand Her, even though they roll pompous phrases in their mouths, like boys gabbling their Psalms by rote, or like clerks and country priests repeating the Church services—of which they understand little or nothing—after the fashion of brute beasts.”

The first sentences, a reader might say, are from Dr. Barry’s indictment of this agnostic century in a recent number of *The National Review* ; the last words are the words of Mr. Kensit. Yet in fact the whole quotation is from one of the greatest philosophers of the Ages of Faith, and one of the greatest Englishmen of all times : Roger Bacon. It may be found (with much more to the same purpose) in the beginning of his *Compendium of the Study of Philosophy*, dedicated about 1271 to the reigning Pope. The “forty years” refer, as he expressly tells us, to the Franciscan and Dominican reform ; yet, after a generation of that reform, the boasted learning of the thirteenth century was, in Bacon’s judgment, rotten to the core. Moreover, he traces its rottenness directly to the wickedness of the age, and asserts that his fellow students were as definitely inferior to the pagan philosophers in morals as they were in true learning, in spite of the help which professing Christians ought to have found in God’s grace, through baptism and Holy Communion. Nor does

he stop short at generalities, but enters into details about professors of Divinity and students at Paris which show a state of things far worse than anything alleged in Dr. Barry's indictment, though it can be proved to the hilt from other sources. Not only does this contemporary of St. Thomas Aquinas condemn *en bloc* the learning of his own age, but he criticises St. Thomas himself in words which might have been echoed, rightly or wrongly, by Dr. Barry's *bête noire*, Huxley. The Thomist system, he says, is a magnificent building to the eye ; but it rests upon a Bible misunderstood, an Aristotle misunderstood, and omits altogether two of the corner-stones of true philosophy—the mathematical and the physical sciences.

How, in the face of these facts, can Dr. Barry write as he does ? The question is best answered by another. How, in the face of the notorious immorality of pagan times, could Bacon put ancient morals far higher than those of the Golden Age of Catholicism ? The cause in both cases lies in ignorance of past history. In Bacon's days, the real knowledge of antiquity was impossible ; and Bacon could no more have constructed a true picture of the age of Socrates than he could have turned out a modern locomotive. In our age, sufficient materials for reconstructing thirteenth century life are indeed to hand ; but Dr. Barry has not fully used them. He has chosen to write as an impassioned advocate rather than as a sober student, even though he claims, "with past history open before me," to date his article from "the Palace of Truth." And his logic is as false as his history. If, as he argues, the moral decay with which he charges our age is due to a waning belief in dogma, then the whole history of European morals since the thirteenth century should show a steady downward progression. Dr. Barry knows very well that this is not so ; for he has written otherwise in his *Papal Monarchy*. After a survey of thirteenth century corruptions, which, however imperfect, still shows that he realises the civilisation of that age to have been lower than our own, he adds : "We can neither conceive nor imagine such a time ; therefore we shall do well to refrain from judging it." He does not, however, refrain from judging very mercilessly the age in

CATHOLICISM AND MORALS

which God has cast our own lot ; and I claim the right of speaking here as plainly about the "Age of Faith," as Dr. Barry has spoken about the "Age of Agnosticism." For if, during the 600 years in which the civilised world has adopted an increasingly critical attitude, first towards the Romanist creed, and finally towards all creeds that would confine human enquiry within too narrow dogmatic limits—if, during those 600 years, morality has not actually gone far backwards, then it is evident at once that something halts in Dr. Barry's theory. If, on the other hand, with all our faults, we stand as high above thirteenth century morality as that age, with all its faults, stood above the ages of Socrates or Marcus Antoninus, then we shall only wonder how a professed student of history can claim historical authority for so strangely unhistorical a theory. As a special student for many years of thirteenth century life, I know how far even the most plain-spoken historians are from telling the naked truth, which I will try to lay very briefly here before the reader. If Dr. Barry believes me to be exaggerating, and will stake his authority on that belief, I will gladly print and publish at my own expense anything which he chooses to write in answer to this article, only allowing myself as many pages of rejoinder as he takes for his reply.

Roger Bacon, though living in the main current of the new reforms, looks upon his own age as utterly degenerate. He hopes—with a hope that is nine-tenths despair—for some *Deus ex machina*, for a Good Pope or a Good Emperor, to reverse the worldly policy of his predecessors. Failing that, he sees nothing possible but Christ's sudden coming to judge a world already brimful of iniquity. He lays special stress on the prevalence of the sins of the flesh. Like all other moralists of his time, he names the clergy as the fountain-head of evil. "Everywhere we shall find boundless corruption ; and first of all in the Head. . . . Let us consider the Religious Orders ; I exclude none from what I say. See how far they are fallen, one and all, from their right state ; and the new Orders [of Friars] are already horribly decayed from their first dignity. The whole clergy is intent upon pride, lechery, and avarice." The same testi-

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

mony is borne by some of his most distinguished contemporaries. The great Franciscan teacher Adam Marsh is never weary of alluding to "these most damnable times," "these days of uttermost perdition," in which all but the spiritually blind "see plainly that Satan is either already loosed or soon to be loosed." Grosseteste, perhaps the greatest of our medieval bishops, complained before the Pope at Lyons that even the small fraction of professedly orthodox Christians was "almost wholly separated from Christ, and incorporate with the Devil through the seven deadly sins." St. Francis, at the very end of his life, spoke of "these times of superabundant malice and iniquity;" and his earliest biographer, Thomas of Celano, complained that the overwhelming majority of thirteenth century Italians "had nothing but the mere name of Christians to boast themselves with." The same despairing cry is echoed by St. Bonaventura, Vincent of Beauvais, Humbert de Romans, Gerard de Frachet, Thomas de Chantimpré, Raimondo da Vigna—to name none but distinguished friars who knew intimately the first few generations of Franciscan and Dominican influence. "The Church," wrote Gerson prophetically on the eve of the Reformation, "is more morally degraded than was the Synagogue at the moment when it was about to be swept away;" "it is consumed by an incurable cancer, and the very remedies do but make it more sick."

"But," it may be said, "these may be only the rhetorical exaggerations of well-meaning men who were carried away by the vehemence of their indignation at certain abuses going on under their own eyes. How utterly false would be an idea of our age gathered by some future historian simply from Dr. Barry's article and others of the same kind."

First, then, I would point out, that *all* my quotations are from standard books of European reputation in their time, which have been thought worthy of print whole centuries after their authors' death; while some have the authority of Roger Bacon, Bonaventura, and St. Francis—names that will be great as long as the world lasts. Secondly, the authors whom I quote had no quarrel, as Dr. Barry has,

CATHOLICISM AND MORALS

with the *principles* of their time ; they wrote as professing Roman Catholics to professing Roman Catholics, and therefore lacked the most powerful of all temptations to darken the picture. Thirdly, their judgments are abundantly borne out by contemporary evidence.

“First of all, we shall find corruption in the Head.” The Popes of the thirteenth century were, on the whole, the best the Church had had for 500 years, or was to have for 300 years to come. Dr. Barry was wise to end his popular history of the Papal Monarchy prematurely at the close of the thirteenth century ; he would have found it difficult to continue it up to the Reformation. Yet the personal purity of at least three Popes of the thirteenth century was seriously doubted by their contemporaries ; and Popes lie in Dante’s Hell like sheep. The Papal court was then, as always until recent times, a notorious den of corruption. As one of the few really good Cardinals complained, it had turned the city of Lyons into one huge brothel during its few years of residence there ; and the same evil reputation was enjoyed by Avignon, Constance, and Rome, during other periods of Papal residence. The other prelates were just as bad. Gregory X. complained, in 1274, that “they were the ruin of Christendom ;” and only by exerting the whole weight of his authority at a great General Council did he succeed at last in deposing Henry of Liège, whose episcopal career of nearly thirty years would be incredible, but for the number of parallel instances that might be quoted. Two abbesses and a nun were among his concubines ; and he boasted of having had fourteen children in twenty-two months. Yet he was Bishop by the special grace of Pope Innocent IV. The inferior clergy followed suit. St. Bonaventura complains of their ignorance, their immorality, and the dangers of the confessional, in language which would be treated as bigoted in a modern Protestant’s mouth. Salimbene relates that he has “a hundred times” heard Italian parish clergy quoting, *as a text from St. Paul’s Epistles*, the maxim : “If not chastely, at least cautiously,” to justify their immorality. English cathedrals were partly built out of the fines of incontinent priests. The contemporary Register of Eudes Rigaud of Rouen shows that

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

about 18 per cent. of the parish clergy in his diocese were known to him by name as black sheep ; yet only here and there could he get rid of the worst offenders. Similar Registers bear out the bitter complaints of clerical ignorance formulated by Bacon, Bonaventura, Aquinas, and many others. In 1222, the curates-in-charge of five out of seventeen Salisbury Dean-and-Chapter livings were found, on examination, quite unable to construe a single sentence of the Mass service which they had mumbled daily for years. Rigaud's Register gives us the results of similar examinations of priests in Normandy. Gerson, again, represents the Church as crying aloud to the Pope : " Whom wilt thou give, out of the whole body of the priesthood, who is not ignorant of Christ's law ? " " Ignorance of God," writes Dr. Barry very truly, " lies at the root of social anarchy." That is why the Reformation was attended with so much lawlessness, and the French Revolution with still more. If the masses are not taught the real Duties of Man, they will inevitably misbehave when they tardily inherit the Rights of Man.

For the masses of the thirteenth century stood, as they stand in all ages, below the clergy. Thousands did not know even the Lord's Prayer ; thousands were never confirmed, though throughout England the population did not average 500 souls to a parish—the population of an ordinary modern village. The very few who could read were generally discouraged from reading the Bible or similarly " high and sacred " books—Abbot Gasquet's specious arguments notwithstanding. The failure of the Crusades was followed by a general outburst of infidelity. Salimbene tells us how men would refuse charity to the friars, and give instead to some common tramp, crying : " Take this, in Mahomet's name, for he is mightier than Christ now-a-days." With all the priest's inquisitorial and disciplinary rights over his flock, he could not get his parishioners to attend at more than a fraction of the Sunday Mass, or to behave with ordinary decency in church during even those brief minutes. We have the most varied and curious evidence to this effect. Dr. Barry speaks of the confusion of modern sects. Is he unaware that the

CATHOLICISM AND MORALS

thirteenth century bred many that were far more absurd and more indecent than those of the present age? Does he not know how often even the orthodox were tortured with deadly doubts, and how (by the confession of contemporaries), in proportion to their longing for God's presence they were haunted by visions of the Devil? Suicide, the one crime of violence which was rarer then than now, was yet far more common in monasteries and convents, where crazy fanatics were often persuaded that this, or homicide, represented the last phase of Religious Perfection.

For it must be understood that even the slight tendency of certain crimes to increase in recent years leaves us still out of all proportion better than our ancestors of 600 years ago. I will review briefly all the crimes of which Dr. Barry complains. By two independent calculations, from coroners' rolls of Oxford and Bedfordshire, I get at the same result—that the percentage of murders and homicides to the total population of those days was *more than twenty times* greater than at present. With rape, the disproportion is greater still; for it was a habitual practice in warfare, and when was Europe without war? Even nowadays it is in Romanist countries that gambling is especially rampant; in the Middle Ages it was far worse, and rendered even chess a disreputable game. St. Bernardino complains of the horrible blasphemies and mutilations of saints' images to which the gambling mania led—far worse than anything known to modern Protestantism. Drunkenness, even without the worst modern temptation of distilled liquors, was also rampant in the past; at Oxford, as Dr. Rashdall points out, it was not even an offence recognised by the University authorities. As to obscenity, I dare not even summarise the testimony of Thomas of Celano and Gerson, which points to something far beyond modern France and Italy. One of St. Catherine of Siena's worst trials lay in the impossibility of escaping from foul talk in respectable middle-class circles. There is scarcely a book of medieval history or fiction, even including the collections of anecdotes for preachers' use, which could conveniently be published in an unexpurgated translation. Dozens of songs and paro-

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

dies written by medieval clerics, and preserved to modern times in monastic or cathedral libraries, are far too licentious to be translated and published in any modern community. The beautiful poem from which Neale took *Jerusalem the Golden* is in many parts quite untranslatable. It is very strange that Dr. Barry, a professed medievalist, should not have at least some inkling of these things; and that he should not know how little the thirteenth century can be spoken of as a time of pure and ideal family life, untainted by divorce, though space fails me to grapple here with a subject which is complicated by medieval legal fictions.

But (argues Dr. Barry) crime has only "changed its character from violence to cunning, and robs where it used to commit murder." Even that would be something; for presumably Dr. Barry would readily hand over his purse in response to a serious request for his money or his life. But the change is *not* such as he describes; the standard of commercial morality has in fact risen as much as that of general morality. His own *Papal Monarchy* shows that he is aware how scandalously and constantly the medieval Popes embezzled for private purposes the vast sums yearly collected from the faithful of Europe for the Crusades. Jabez Balfour not only wore the Papal tiara in the thirteenth century, but also lived very comfortably everywhere, since the Press was non-existent, and the judge who refused a bribe was extolled as a miracle of perfection. Study the story of any religious house of which a full chronicle survives; the chances are that you will find wholesale embezzlement rampant from generation to generation. Preachers and moralists complained, with wearisome and ineffectual iteration, that "in these evil times" a tradesman must cheat or starve. What is more, the pious theft was as definitely encouraged by high medieval moralists as the pious fraud. Dr. Barry himself has written of the latter, with a touch of his usual tenderness for the past: "to manipulate ancient writings, to edit history in one's own favour, did not appear criminal if the end were otherwise just and good." Salimbene and Cardinal Jacques de Vitry both describe the concoction of successful bogus miracles

CATHOLICISM AND MORALS

with no less gusto than real miracles ; and St. Francis himself began his apostolic career with a pious theft.¹

Throughout the course of history, no country in which Roman dogmas have been accepted can compare in general morality with the modern Protestant States ; and I feel sure that Dr. Barry himself knows this too well to risk the comparison of original authorities to which I challenge him.

On one point, however, I am glad to agree with Dr. Barry. Neo-Malthusianism is comparatively modern *as a general practice*. It is gaining ground alarmingly in most civilised countries ; and I heartily endorse his plea that it is contrary both to natural and to Christian morality. It is a difficult subject to discuss in these pages, though here again I am quite ready to join issue with Dr. Barry on neutral ground, and to show by contemporary evidence that no Romanist can afford to throw stones at modern society on this account. I will only point out here, that his indictment is one-sided, since it does not sufficiently allow for the temptations created by the diffusion of medical knowledge and mechanical inventions, just as he fails to allow for the temptations to drunkenness created by the cheapness of spirits. Six hundred years ago, when even educated men imagined the stomach to be a cauldron in which the food was cooked by the heat of the adjacent liver, Neo-Malthusianism was primitive in its methods, and practised most generally (as I will show Dr. Barry, if he cares to ask publicly for the evidence) in convents. Moreover, in an age when war and rapine, famine and plague, thinned off the population far more effectually than any modern practices—when the population of Europe was scarcely one-tenth of the present—a large family was an obvious source of strength ; and restriction would have been sheer lunacy, from the most selfish point of view. The very virtues of modern times—our comparative peace, the cleanliness which

¹ So at least all the earliest accounts imply most definitely ; and the first to deny it, so far as I know, is Wadding, more than four centuries after the event. Moreover, even Wadding argues that the theft, if theft there had been, would have been justified by the Saint's piety. Canon Knox-Little is characteristically inaccurate in sneering at this accusation of theft as modern ; it is only the unqualified horror of it that is modern.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

kills disease germs instead of allowing them to decimate us, our better medical knowledge—have thus created new temptations. All such fresh temptations are merely God's ways of proving and improving the human race. Those who cannot resist alcohol die out, first individually, and then in their descendants. So also with those who cannot resist Neo-Malthusianism. For Dr. Barry has entirely ignored the one reassuring side of the problem : that medicine is beginning to preach against the practice as emphatically as theology. The habits of which he complains began in, and have spread to us from, France and Italy. But in France and Italy, as I know from having seen them, cheap medical books have for years been sold broadcast, which preach plainly, not the altruistic "you are ruining the race," but the more direct "Neo-Malthusianism ruins your own health." We have therefore here only the same story as with alcohol—first, rapid diffusion and great abuse, then a gradual return to the normal state of things, as a later generation learns by experience, locates the enemy clearly, and is armed to fight against it. The human race will always leave the bones of its fallen along its track through the wilderness ; but it will always march on, in spite of reactionary cries.

For Dr. Barry's article is hopelessly reactionary. He must know very well that, 600 years ago, his own modern Romanism would on many points have left him open to the Inquisitor's dismal condemnation : "Recant—or the stake !" Possibly, however, he does not know that, in that same age, some of St. Thomas Aquinas' characteristic propositions were as publicly and solemnly condemned as Darwin's and Huxley's in ours. In his sneer at the New Decalogue, Dr. Barry shows utter blindness to the entirely modern virtue of toleration, under shelter of which he is able to cry aloud among Protestants, to get full credit from both sides for his real good intentions, and to influence public opinion so far as his assertions will bear the light of criticism. He is equally blind to the true significance of the modern faith, not only broader but deeper than that of Aquinas, which looks upon Romanism as only one of the best among many creeds, to each of which the wise man

CATHOLICISM AND MORALS

must render its due share of respect. He frankly confesses his own inability to conceive a religion gradually transcending dogma, just as the Chaldean who was accustomed to worship God only in His wonderful stars sneered at the Hebrew fools who believed in an invisible Jehovah ; or as the Jew, with his ancient Temple and its splendid ritual, sneered at the publicans and sinners who risked a new religious venture in memory of a crucified carpenter. He laments a dead and buried world, as the reactionaries of St. Augustine's time lamented a dying Paganism, and exalted purely transitory symptoms of history into proofs that Christianity was leading the world to its ruin. Meanwhile, the future belongs, not indeed to the dummy agnostic whom Dr. Barry sets up to knock down again, but to the steadily growing majority of thoughtful men who claim the Pauline right of proving all things, and holding fast that which is good. Such men cling to all that is best in the past, as St. Augustine clung to his Virgil and Plato ; but they look forward to a far more exceeding weight of glory in the future. For their faces are turned resolutely away from the old Egyptian bondage ; and, through all failures and punishments for failure, through fears without and fightings within, they have a steady vision of the City of God.

G. G. COULTON

THE CRATER OF SANTORIN

THE story of Phromina is like a sad little after-note to the unhappiness of her countrywomen of the royal house of Minos, whose far more thrilling tone of tragedy sounds through the legends of Crete. It is a story that vibrates, in a page of Herodotus, passingly ; and yet, to the imagination, insistently.

Phromina, all through her childhood on the shores of Crete, knew no kindness ; for she was hated by her step-mother, who told evil tales of her, which everyone around her believed. At last even her own father was moved to such hatred and anger against her, that he determined she should no longer live. There was at the time a merchant from Thera, the island now called Santorin, trading in Crete. Him this father beguiled, by his hospitality, into taking an oath at random to do whatever his host should presently require of him. The thing required was to carry Phromina away on his ship and throw her into the sea. So she was forthwith handed over to the stranger, and saw the last of home and its unkind faces that had darkened her childhood.

And it may be she was almost content to have it all over, and death within sight. But her captor was horrified at the oath he had taken. He could not bring himself to kill Phromina, and, though he dared not break his oath, he tied a rope round her when he threw her into the sea, and dragged her back alive into his ship. Then he bore her onwards with him to Thera, to his own city built on the verge of the sea-filled crater of the volcano ; and there sold her, apparently, to a well-to-do fellow citizen, to whom she bore a son, the shrill-voiced Battus. He was that Battus

THE CRATER OF SANTORIN

whom the irrelevant obstinacy of the Delphic oracle goaded to the enterprise of colonising Libya ; and it is his importance which has preserved the slight story of his mother's early griefs. But, though she may have lived to take a proud satisfaction in her son, she can never have forgotten the hour in which she lifted her forlorn head to find herself within the portals of that haven in the heart of a volcano, and saw its bare and fuming walls around her, and felt the ship tossing on the cross currents that drive in from the outer sea.

She was little more than a child, an outcast child, bewildered and cowed by unkindness ; and the savage frenzy that seems to stare down from those crater walls would look to her as a child's extremest fears come true. Phromina had known so little of love ; and even the most loved children are haunted by fears. For to a child the circle of light shed by knowledge is very small, its limits constantly waver ; and, from the outer darkness of the Unknown and the Unexplained, so many new shapes come and go about the borders of the light, that the child is kept in fearful expectation of he knows not what possible terror, that might at any hour loom into his ken. As men grow older, the limits of the light by which they live ordinarily fluctuate less ; and, as the flame of reason burns steadier and higher, and a wider surrounding of facts is discernible, experience establishes a belief that even that which still remains beyond, doubtful and formless, will prove to be much the same as that which is familiar already. By this belief in the matter-of-course, fears of the Incalculable are allayed.

Yet in the depths of every man's imagination, if his imagination has any depths at all, there lurks still an element of fear ; and even over the man of sober enlightenment a sight so wild as the island of Santorin has a power that penetrates to the misgivings beneath his common sense. He, no more than the unloved Phromina, can realise the strangeness of the place without a shudder. Its peaks and precipices, seen on some early morning across the bright wild sea which still holds vivid deeps of colour lingering from the night, are like a phantom of the horizon ; they

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

are so colourless in the distance, so horned and uncouth, that if they should flicker and vanish into nothingness, that would not be strange, not half so magnificently strange as their reality.

To the neighbouring islanders, Santorin is the Gate of Hades. And, certainly, when a ship passes through one of the breaches in those abysmal cliffs, and makes its way into the circle of the ancient crater, the pleasant relations of Earth to man are left behind, with the last glimpse of the outer sea. One wakes from the human dream to the dream of some mightier being, fraught with passion more elemental than any that moves the soul of man ; and to the alien measure of that passion the heart beats doubtfully, as the feet move to the excitement of the war-music of a savage race.

These cliffs, that tower on all sides a thousand feet into the air, are but the upper part of the sheer walls of the pit that descend yet more deeply below the water. Their deeply-riven sides are coloured with the colours of a snake, dingy livid green, with streaks of rusty orange and red, pale stripes and stripes of dense black, according as the wild subterranean force has mixed and upheaved the layers of pumice and bitumen, lava and cinders.

High above all, out in the sun above the vast shadow of the cliffs, is a wandering line of white, that looks like a stratum of quartz. In reality this is the cement walls of a long cluster of houses, perched on the topmost verge of the precipice, that gleam so whitely—so inaccessibly, one would say, unless it be from the side of the land behind. But, from closer underneath the cliffs, where not a plant has had the hardihood to root itself, one perceives that many of the caves and holes which riddle their flanks, have been roughly walled in ; so that, from top to bottom, the cliffs are a human warren, with odd little windows and doors peering out from their precipitous face, whereon the narrowest ledges are dizzy pathways connected by ladder-like flights of steps. It seems a mad way of living, but there is a good reason for it ; these dwellings built right into the cliff are safe from the avalanches of rock which, from time to time, great storms loosen and cast down from the crumbling layers

THE CRATER OF SANTORIN

of cinders above them. One wider path, partly cut out of the rock, partly banked up, zig-zags up to the terraced town itself, which is built, roofs and all, of cement, glaring blue-shadowed in the sun, and spreads, as wild plants clamber about an old building, over every angle and ledge of the ruined crater.

The town and the steep path up to it teem with life ; crowds clamour around the new comers ; mules laden with huge empurpled skins of wine, reeking of sweetness, foot it nimbly down to the landing stage, amid the shouts of their bare-foot drivers ; children are playing with little dogs ; women are at work within the musty cave-houses ; the motley throng of beggars, slatterns, dandies, merchants, and priests, pursues, in a desultory way, its day-to-day trafficking.

Yet, as one looks out from the terraces of their high-perched town, which might have been built expressly as galleries of the finest Coliseum in the world, whence to behold the displays in the arena below of Earth's nethermost forces, one's total impression of Santorin and all its past becomes so tremendous, that the sense of the tragic personality of the place obliterates human things.

The island of Santorin itself, roughly crescent-shaped, forms two-thirds of the crater-circle ; between the horns of the crescent lie the lesser Therasia and Aspronisi, sundered from the main body of the volcanic island by mile-wide breaches, through which the sea flows. Those breaches were torn by a series of cataclysms, the thought of which numbs the imagination. Thousands of years ago, the whole summit of the volcano, then more than twice the height of anything that is left standing now, crashed inwards to the chasms of the earth. The force of its fall cut in its foundations the pit which now the town of Thera overlooks, and tore in the pit's perpendicular walls those vast rents through which the outer sea rushed, hurling itself after the fallen mountain, till it made level that stupendous gulf, and quenched for the time the flames that issued thence. But in the centre of this sea, between Santorin and Therasia, lie a group of islands which are witness to an unresting ferment concealed by the level watery floor. " Burnt Islands " they

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

are called; the subterranean rage has spued them up from time to time, squat and hideous as toads. From a creek in the side of one of them, a hot yellow stream of sulphurous water oozes perpetually, and discolours the sea around them. There is a look of treachery about these Burnt Islands; it seems as if some ominous spell also arose from them, and brooded over Santorin.

Beyond the heights of Therasia, which lies opposite to the town of Thera, the eye may wander to the spaces of the open sea, the ideal *Ægæan*, sprinkled with islets as fair and vague as the bloom of colours which the breezes chase across the water. But all that outer serenity seems very far away and paradisaical to him who looks down from the gaunt steepes of Santorin, while the spell of the volcanic menace calls up from the recesses of his mind that host of half-forgotten fears of evil chance, even of evil purpose, which used to haunt the doubtful years of childhood.

The volcano lies quiet enough for the time. It is forty years since the last great convulsion; and only the winding skein of sulphur issuing from the Burnt Islands gives any sign of the imminence of the eruptive earth force. But just as a madman, even in his sane intervals, has a look in his eyes, an inimical slyness, that marks him off from other men, so the face of Earth here is different from the docile face she ordinarily shows to man.

We, inveterate anthropomorphists that we are, having grown used to her sober, if sometimes tardy, response to human efforts, conceive her will and her pleasures to be one with ours, but on a vaster scale. The inconceivable aloofness of the stars may terrify us; but the sight of Earth's hospitable teeming fields reassures us, and allows us a comforting sense of her pleasure in her yearly crops, her spring bloom, her broods of animals and men.

But what are they in truth to her fierce old heart?

Ask the question at Santorin, and let her fling back her grim answer.

It is, after all, only in the languor of her cooling that we men have put Earth's surface to our own uses. She in her prime, when she reeled, a flaming sphere, in her orbit round the central flame that flung her forth, had part in

THE CRATER OF SANTORIN

cosmic drama and passion, compared with which the surface life of animal and vegetable atomies is but a frothy evanescence. It is easy for us to forget her long un-human past ; she seems for the most part to have forgotten it herself. But that seeming inexpressive forgetfulness is not so deep but that here and there it can burst forth into curses, into recklessness, as in the volcano of Santorin, where her apparent friendliness, which is only the indifference of decrepitude, changes to a capricious malignity.

One would think that men would shun these danger spots. But it is the most paradoxical of platitudes that they enjoy living on a volcano, their dauntless impudence defying the "eyeless rage" of Earth's heart of fire. Certainly at Santorin there were men, even in the days of that prehistoric up-surge and downfall, which swallowed the cone of the old mountain and let the thundering sea into the gulf. In the pumice quarries of Santorin and Therasia, the poor relics of their homes have been unearthed. What manner of men they were, what their speech and whence they came, can never be exactly told. These island-sprinkled seas seem to have been from all time the roving grounds of races, whose salient adventurous spirits and glorious zest of life focussed itself in the magnificence of Mycenae and of the later Athens. The earliest dwellers on Thera belonged to that nomadic kin : the disaster that annihilated them has preserved enough of their habitations and handiworks to determine also, and to make real to us, their fellowship with the social life common to all human beings. Buried deep in the powdery layers of pumice stone, the houses of their town, a pre-historic Pompeii, were found still partly standing, built of rough blocks of lava decorated with frescoes in many colours. There too were their unglazed earthenware jars for storing grain and oil, and their hand grindstones of lava, and discs of lava, such as weavers use to this day for stretching the warp of their stuff on the loom, and a bronze sword, with three axes inlaid in gold upon its blade. There were also found the bones of sheep and goats, and one skeleton of a man. These are sufficient tokens of the persistent elements of the human race—forethought, pride of hearth, industry, and the inveterate lust of war.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Even the terror of that awful disaster could not keep men from Santorin. Geologists say that the buried dwellings belong not all to one period, nor were they all ruined at one time ; but men returned again and again to make their abode on those treacherous steeps where their forerunners had been engulfed.

In the half-real ages of mythology, Cadmus, it is said, passing by in his quest of Europa, loved the place, and left there some of his followers, who called it *Kalliste*—the Beautiful ; and at the dawn of actual history their descendants welcomed another coloniser, Theras, of the lineage of Cadmus. He, having lost his power on the mainland of Laconia, singled out Kalliste as a new kingdom, and brought with him a company of other unwanted men, in three ships of thirty oars. And a fine race sprang from these adventurers, who renamed the island Thera. The Thereans, under Battus, were the pioneers of the great Greek colonies in Libya ; again they showed the spirit that was in them by holding out, alone among the islanders, against the imperial sway of Athens.

In Christian times a hardy race of pirates dwelt in the old Hellenic capital among the fastnesses of Mount Elias, on the outer side of the island. Nor have there ever been wanting, from century to century, men who found the island a desirable dwelling-place ; and to this day it teems with a thriving eager folk.

And yet there have been, again and again, days, and even years, of extreme terror. Some of those periods of volcanic convulsion have been forgotten ; but of others the record remains.

Most awful of all was the year 1707, a history of which was set down by an eye-witness in the records of a Jesuit Mission. It was then that the largest of the Burnt Islands appeared. At first only certain black points were seen, which the Thereans took to be a ship in distress ; but when they came near they saw that they were charred rocks appearing from the sea, which was so deep that they had never been able to sound it. After four days of earthquake and clamour, a whole island was visible. Then the people went out in boats again, and landed to explore the new

THE CRATER OF SANTORIN

prodigy. They found it covered with oysters ; but, before they had time to gather them, they had to flee hastily, for the whole place was shaking. After that, terrors multiplied month by month. An unceasing uproar rose from the depths of the sea : a noise of thunder, of maddened beasts, of the booming of organ-pipes. Heavy clouds of smoke hung over the new island, from which the flames burst at every side. Rockets of flame shot up into the air, sparkling sheaves of light, that exploded and fell back into the sea in a rain of sparks. It was more than a year before the terror subsided, and men could venture again to approach the new island, which they had watched the devils of the under-world build up out of the sea. But, as soon as ever they could, they made their way through the boiling sea, with incredible hardihood. They found that the water, being sulphurous, served entirely to rid the sides of their vessel of barnacles ; and, from that time to this, ships in want of cleaning anchor for the night under the shores of the Burnt Islands.

Such is the impudence of men, against which the violence of Earth avails not at all, to fright them from their own affairs.

The men who have perched their houses on the brim of this crater, where the very swallows dare not stay to nest, seem wholly unharassed by the ominous menace which rises out of the past, and hangs about its abysmal walls. The vines which they cultivate with nice care, on the treeless arid soil of the uplands that slope gradually down to the outer shores of the island, are their great concern. As one walks away from the precipitous inner steeps overlooking the crater, and across Santorin to the far shore, the cindery path is bordered on either hand by these desolate vineyards. A few sparse blades of barley grow here and there ; but, for the most part, the pale, dusty soil is unbroken. The vines themselves are here trained to grow very close to the ground ; and each separate plant is so pruned that it lies like a low round hamper, with the bunches of grapes drawn into the middle, so as to make the most of all sun and rain that fall upon them. And all this labour under the sun is most profitable. The wine made on Santorin is of the purest and finest ; it is drunk at many a solemn altar throughout Christendom.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

So long, then, as Earth's surface yields them the where-withal of life, the people of Santorin do not trouble themselves with the thought of the frailty of the barriers between them and the pent subterranean fires. But he who comes to Santorin, from lands where the solidity and kindliness of Earth are among the basic matter-of-fact assumptions of life, will not easily rid himself of the impression of terror which its aspect and story make upon the mind.

If a man has seen a phantom, with savage face and fawning gait, he can never altogether suppress the horror of that apparition. Sometimes in after life he may protest against its memory and declare to himself—"No, no, I never saw it; of course such things do not exist." But his "of course" will not quiet the sense of fear, intermittent, perhaps, but unabated, with which that one hour charged his mind. Even so, the memory of Santorin haunts and fascinates the mental vision; and, long after one has returned to regions of peaceful friendly fields, remains for the mind a great flaw in the stability of the normal, the uniform, the matter-of-course.

ELEANOR CROPPER

LABOUR AND POLITICS

ONE of the most striking phenomena in the political life of this country is the attitude of the working classes towards the Parties and the Questions that at present occupy the political field. Though the real interests of all sections of the labouring classes are identical, we find the political sympathies of the workers divided in the most extraordinary way. There are Tory working men and Liberal working men. There is one Labour Party which is willing to give an independent support to the Liberals; another which holds itself rigidly aloof, refusing to have any dealings whatever with either of the great Parties in the State. There is a further considerable body which attaches itself to no Party, but supports this or that, according to the prejudices and passions of the moment.

The effect of this chaotic state of things is to render Labour more or less powerless as a political force, and to leave the field undisputed to Liberal and Tory. This suicidal antagonism between the workers is almost incomprehensible to one not conversant with the history of English politics during the past century. It is, however, a fact of the gravest importance to the mass of the people of this country. It blocks the way of all real progress; and it will continue to block the way, till the division has been traced to its source, till Labour as a whole has been convinced that in union alone is its salvation to be found, and that there is nothing to hinder such union but groundless prejudices and misunderstandings.

The vital interest of Labour is bound up in what is known as the 'Condition of the People Question'; that is to say, in the great question of poverty, and the hundred and one hideous problems that arise from it. The real solution

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

of this question will carry with it the removal of most of the evils that afflict the people ; and to find such a solution must of necessity be the central aim of any Labour policy. There is no doubt that the workers more or less clearly recognise this fact ; and the measure of support they give to either of the great political Parties depends on the degree in which they regard those Parties as likely means to that end.

In discussing the attitude that Labour should logically adopt towards Tories and Liberals, it is of the first importance to show whether either of those Parties, from its traditions and its dominating influences, is likely to become the vehicle by which the real object of Labour may be attained.

With this object in view, we may proceed to enquire whether either of the great political parties in England is likely to act as the means to attain the desired object.

Let us go back to the early part of the last century. Until then, the governing power lay in the hands of the aristocracy, that is, in the hands of those who 'owned' the land of the country, whether they called themselves Whigs or Tories. With the industrial progress of the country, however, there had grown up an organised group consisting of the leaders of the industrial and commercial world ; and the central fact of the early nineteenth century politics was the struggle between the latter and the then powerful Tory Party, for the dominating power in the State. The struggle in its broad features was not one between freedom and oppression, not one between progress and reaction. It was simply and purely a struggle between *rent* and *profit* ; and this fact must be clearly remembered if the subsequent history of the two Parties is to be properly understood.

The most prominent phase of the struggle in the first half of the century was known as the Free Trade movement. The Tory or landed party upheld Protection, mainly in the belief that by so doing they would uphold rents. The industrials, in alliance with the half-convinced Whigs, demanded Free Trade (a removal of the import duties on food and raw materials especially) under the conviction that cheaper food and cheaper manufacturing materials would enable them to diminish wages and the other

LABOUR AND POLITICS

expenses of production, and so stimulate the industrial, at the expense it might be of the agricultural interests. This contest was in no sense a struggle between 'aristocracy' and 'democracy.' It was in its inception a contest between the aristocracy of birth and land, and the aristocracy of industry. Neither was it in its essential features a moral revolt against an immoral system, although certain great moral figures, and certain streams of progressive thought, became more or less identified with one of the combatants. The real capitalist nature of the Liberal Party was obscured during the Reform struggle, when certain moral issues were raised which brought the masses of the people to the support of the opponents of the Government. But when the Reform movement subsided, it soon appeared that the Whigs *as a body* had little sympathy with the legitimate ambitions of the working classes. However, the Tory seemed the natural enemy of both Whigs and workers; and for the time the cohesion between the two latter appeared so natural, that there were many who believed that the extension of the franchise meant the permanent exclusion from power of the Tory Party. Such might possibly have been the case had the Liberals been in any real sense a democratic Party. They were not so; and, when once the interests of capital had been secured, they were as little disposed to sacrifice themselves for the good of the people as were their opponents. Speaking of the year 1860, Mr. Gladstone, who was in a position to judge, stated: "We live in anti-reforming times . . . the tone of ultra-Toryism prevails among a large portion of the Liberal Party."

As a consequence of this, the political life of the second half of the century was chiefly distinguished by a competition between these two Parties to secure the votes of the enfranchised workers. Both Parties contained individuals of benevolent impulses and admirable personal character; but *as Parties* they were animated by a persistent distrust of the workers, of Labour as a whole. The character of the Liberal Party was somewhat redeemed by the fact, that a considerable number of reforming spirits had attached themselves to it as being opposed to the old exclusive form of Government. These Radicals were, however,

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

rather in the Party than of it ; and for a long time they were practically powerless in its councils.

In such a state of things, how were the workers (such at least as had votes) to choose between these two political Parties ? The active principles of both were much the same, so far as the masses of the people were concerned ; as their general attitude towards the Chartists and subsequent progressive movements clearly showed. The worker, powerless himself, was therefore driven to give, or rather to sell, his vote to the highest bidder, the purchase price being some reluctant offer of reform, such as Factory Acts or further extensions of the franchise. The reluctant promise was not always followed by performance, as might well have been expected when the promise was for the most part merely political bird-lime. The votes captured and power attained, it was easy to forget the promises by which the votes had been purchased. The votes of the deceived were consequently given, naturally enough, to the other Party at the next opportunity. There was little essential difference between the leaders on both sides, so far as sympathy with real democratic reform was concerned ; and it is in this fact that may be found the cause of the oscillation of power from one to the other, the swing of the political pendulum, which many seem to regard as some special virtue of the English Constitution.

The English political world of the mid-century and subsequent years presents itself much in this way. On the one side was the landed interest (anti-democratic in sympathy) together with a fluctuating body of voters, sheep without a shepherd, who voted, now for this, and now for the other Party. On the other side was the capitalist Party, representing industry as distinguished from land (also anti-democratic in sympathy), together with a body of democratic Radicals too small in number to affect materially the policy of the Party, and a shifting body of blind voters similar to those who hung to the skirts of the Tories.

Each extension of the franchise brought into the electoral field a considerable body of men who were more and more of the moneyless and landless classes. Each lowering of the voting qualification extended the voting

LABOUR AND POLITICS

power of Labour, while it left capital (already fully enfranchised) as it was. Each such step caused a considerable disturbance of the political equilibrium at the moment. Each influx of a new body of voters brought about a re-adjustment of the political balance. The new votes came from the Labour classes; and, so far as they brought a permanent element into the political life of the country, they gave an accession of strength to the Radical section of the Liberal Party, and established also other democratic groups, with more or less identity of aim, but with independent organisations.

The inherently anti-democratic prejudices of capital were not proof against this growing influence of the workers. Industrial capital found itself opposed on the one side to its hereditary enemy, the landed interests; while, on its flank, grew up a great body of its natural enemy, Labour. In the face of this growing danger, *rent* and *profit* tended to sink their differences, and to join forces against the common foe. As a consequence, while the extended franchise has admitted new bodies of Labour to the power of the vote, there has been a steady drift of capital from the Liberal to the Tory side. This stream of reaction has carried with it large numbers of middle-class voters, who prefer to consider themselves as allied to the classes, to identify their interests with those of wealth and rank, and who dislike and distrust that vast body of their fellow citizens commonly referred to as 'British working-men.' This movement across the old dividing line of Parties has been a constant one—sometimes individuals made the plunge, at other times bodies crossed over together. The so-called Home-Rule split is an instance of this. The Liberal Unionists (entirely a capitalist body, so far as leadership and organisation were concerned) did not leave the Liberal Party solely on the question of Home Rule. They had already ceased to be Liberal, as their subsequent history has shown. The crisis of 1886 was merely the psychological moment at which the change in their general sympathies took practical effect in a change of Party.

The above brief outline of the political movements of

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the last half century will enable us to understand the position of Parties at the present moment. We have seen the steady union of capital and the interests of all kinds (the present Protectionist movement in the Tory Party is significant of this, and will cause but a temporary cleavage in that Party) forming a wealthy, well organised, and united body.

On the other side, we have seen the Liberal Party steadily shedding its capitalist members, and becoming more and more a Radical and progressive body. At the same time, it has become far less powerful as an individual Party, owing to the fact that, while capital has fallen away, Labour has for the most part held aloof, and established separate organisations of its own.

From the past we may read the future. The movement is hardly yet in full swing ; and it will not cease till, out of the ashes of the Conservative and Liberal Unionist Parties, there has grown up a Party of capital, uniting the landed interests and all the forces of wealth and monopoly. Such a Party, with its anti-Labour policy, and its practical control of the Press, will wield enormous power, and will use it unscrupulously.

On the other side, what shall we see ? It rests with Labour to say. Ultimately, there is no doubt that Labour will unite—after much tribulation very probably, not for generations very possibly. For a time, at any rate, we shall find a united Party of capital facing a world of Labour split into conflicting sections, distrusting and abusing each other, and by their divisions and internal quarrels leaving the field almost undisputed to the enemy.

What then should be the present policy of Labour, in view of the inevitable union of all the interests that thrive on its subjection ?

It should under no circumstances lend its support to the Tories. That Party has ceased to represent any political principle. It has become the rallying ground of all the anti-democratic forces in the country. It embraces the Church and the landed aristocracy. It officers the army and navy. The brewer and distiller are pillars of its constitution. Stockbrokers and financiers find in it a congenial resting

LABOUR AND POLITICS

place. The Public House and the Turf are sacred institutions which it has made peculiarly its own. It finds ardent support from the great Trusts which are sucking the very life-blood of the people ; while organised capital of every kind pours a constant stream of gold into its coffers, to enable it to carry on its campaign against the common people. This concentration of the moneyed interests is going on day by day. The public journals have been captured. By that stroke, the people have been reduced to dumbness, and deprived of that fundamental necessity of any wide national movement, an honest and incorruptible Press. This, then, is what the Tory Party is to a great extent at the present moment, and what it is certain to become with more completeness in the near future. Meanwhile, it continues its old game of outbidding the Liberals, now promising Old Age Pensions, and now holding out the hope of well-paid employment to every working-man. It seeks to trap the support of the workers by playing unscrupulously on their prejudices and passions. Yesterday it was 'Down with the Boers.' To-day it is 'Down with the aliens.' To-morrow it will be 'Down with——' any other people who may conveniently suit its purpose at the moment. We can appreciate the difficult position of the working classes years ago, when they had to choose between two evils—Whig and Tory ; but there is no excuse for them to-day, when they can form a policy and organisation of their own.

So far then as the Tory Party is concerned, common sense tells the labourer never under any circumstances to vote for that Party. It is his natural enemy ; and, if he is blind to that fact, it will continue to deceive him to his own undoing. It is the Party of the 'Haves' ; and will never willingly consent to share its possessions more freely with the 'Have-nots.'

What should be the attitude of Labour towards the present Liberal Party ?

It should be remembered that the Liberal Party is not, in any real sense, a Party at all. It is a loose collection of sections, often of widely differing opinions, held together by a common organisation and a common opposition to the Tory. There is little or no affinity between its parts. It

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

consists broadly of a capitalist section which, by controlling the purse, largely controls the policy of the Party in all essentials. There is a middle section, hung, like Mahomet's coffin, between the two extremes, and destined eventually to be absorbed by one of them. Lastly, there is the Radical or democratic section, whose aims are, to all intents and purposes, identical with those of Labour generally.

It is clearly evident from this, that Labour, as a political force, should not range itself under the banner of the Liberal Party. The result of such a course would be to play into the hands of the re-actionary section. On the other hand, it would be a short-sighted step to take up a position of blind hostility to the Liberal Party and all its works. Such a course would infallibly alienate indefinitely that large body of democratic opinion which at present marches under the Liberal standard. The ultimate success of the Labour movement depends on the complete union of *all* the forces of democracy ; and nothing should be done which is likely to hinder that union.

The policy of Labour then should be, to establish a distinct and independent organisation of its own ; to make that organisation a truly democratic one, by giving each individual an equal voice in its councils, and by loyally accepting the decision of the majority. The Labour vote should be steadily opposed to Toryism and all its works. Labour, while standing outside the Liberal Party, should act in sympathy with the democratic section of that Party, and strengthen the hands of that section in forcing from the leaders of the Party such measures as are necessary to the complete political emancipation of the workers. When the final disruption of the Liberal Party comes about, when the capitalist section takes the plunge and joins its friends on the other side, the democratic group will find itself easily and naturally marching side by side with organised Labour, and will take its place in the ranks ; and the whole forces of the people will be gathered into one united and irresistible body.

This way, and this way alone, lies certainty of victory. The policy of isolation and exclusion must lead to constant discord, endless division, and inevitable disaster.

We cannot leave the question of a Labour Policy

LABOUR AND POLITICS

without touching upon its necessary limitations. It should always be remembered, that a political Party, like a form of government, is merely a machine. The good to be derived from it depends almost entirely upon the spirit by which it is animated. It is too common a fault to fix the attention on the form and to ignore the substance, to dispute about the machine and forget to consider the motive power which is to work through it. It would be safe to say that, if only the efforts of the leaders of the people were directed to the building up of a truly democratic spirit in the people, the form of government could be practically ignored, so certain is it that the living force would quickly re-mould the existing form of government, and evolve from it one specially adapted to its own effective working. We need not look far to see Republics which are largely controlled by anti-democratic forces, while at home we have a monarchy in which the democratic spirit is at least as manifest, at least as effective, as in America or France. The most essential element of any genuine progressive movement is, therefore, the création of a social spirit among the people, that is to say, of a spirit which shall make the people as interested in the welfare of their neighbours, and as anxious to promote it, as though it were their own. A Labour Party which is held together solely by hatred of the common enemy is not an instrument for good. The enemy defeated, the Party will dissolve into a mass of warring sections. A Labour Party, if it is to carry within it the seeds of any real and permanent good, must be held together, not by pressure from without, but by attraction from within. Its members must feel for each other a goodwill, a neighbourliness, a genuine affection. It must exercise the widest possible tolerance. It must avoid sectional movements and a narrow exclusive policy, as the most fatal of sins. It must, in short, incorporate in its code the law : 'Love thy neighbour as thyself.' Animated by such a spirit, its triumph is certain. Without it, all its efforts will be wasted, and its sacrifices thrown away.

A. Hook

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

CHAPTER I

“DO you see that mountain just behind Elizabeth’s toque ? A young man fell in love with me there so nicely twenty years ago. Bob your head a minute, would you, Elizabeth, kindly.”

“Yes’m,” said Elizabeth, falling forward on the box like an unstiffened doll. Colonel Leyland put on his *pince-nez*, and looked at the mountain where the young man had fallen in love.

“Was he a nice young man ?” he asked, smiling, though he lowered his voice a little on account of the maid.

“I never knew. But it is a very gratifying incident to remember at my age. Thank you, Elizabeth.”

“May one ask who he was ?”

“A porter,” answered Miss Raby in her usual tones. “Not even a certificated guide. A male person who was hired to carry the luggage, which he dropped.”

“Well ! well ! What did you do ?”

“What a young lady should. Screamed and thanked him not to insult me. Ran, which was quite unnecessary, fell, sprained my ankle, screamed again ; and he had to carry me half-a-mile, so penitent, that I thought he would fling me over a precipice. In that state we reached a certain Mrs. Harbottle, at sight of whom I burst into tears. But she was so much stupider than I was, that I recovered quickly.”

“Of course you said it was all your own fault !”

“I trust I did,” she said more seriously. “Mrs. Harbottle, who, like most people, was always right, had warned me against him ; we had had him for expeditions before.”

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

"Ah ! I see."

"I doubt whether you do. Hitherto he had known his place. But he was too cheap : he gave us more than our money's worth. That, as you know, is an ominous sign in a low-born person."

"But how was this your fault ?"

"I encouraged him : I greatly preferred him to Mrs. Harbottle. He was handsome and what I call agreeable ; and he wore beautiful clothes. We lagged behind, and he picked me flowers. I held out my hand for them—instead of which he seized it and delivered a love oration which he had prepared out of *I promessi Sposi*."

"Ah ! an Italian."

They were crossing the frontier at that moment. On a little bridge amid fir trees were two poles, one painted red, white and green, the other black and yellow.

"He lived in Italia Irredenta," said Miss Raby. "But we were to fly to the Kingdom. I wonder what would have happened if we had."

"Good Lord !" said Colonel Leyland, in sudden disgust. On the box Elizabeth trembled.

"But it might have been a most successful match."

She was in the habit of talking in this mildly unconventional way. Colonel Leyland, who made allowances for her brilliancy, managed to exclaim : "Rather ! yes, rather !"

She turned on him with : "Do you think I'm laughing at him ?"

He looked a little bewildered, smiled, and did not reply. Their carriage was now crawling round the base of the notorious mountain. The road was built over the *débris* which had fallen and which still fell from its sides ; and it had scarred the pine woods with devastating rivers of white stone. But further up, Miss Raby remembered, on its gentler eastern slope, it possessed tranquil hollows, and flower-clad rocks, and a most tremendous view. She had not been quite as facetious as her companion supposed. The incident, certainly, had been ludicrous. But she was somehow able to laugh at it without laughing much at the actors or the stage.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

"I had rather he made me a fool than that I thought he was one," she said after a long pause.

"Here is the Custom House," said Colonel Leyland, changing the subject.

They had come to the land of *Ach* and *Ja*. Miss Raby sighed; for she loved the Latins, as everyone must who is not pressed for time. But Colonel Leyland, a military man, respected Teutonia.

"They still talk Italian for seven miles," she said, comforting herself like a child.

"German is the coming language," answered Colonel Leyland. "All the important books on any subject are written in it."

"But all the books on any important subject are written in Italian. Elizabeth—tell me an important subject."

"Human Nature, ma'am," said the maid, half shy, half impertinent.

"Elizabeth is a novelist, like her mistress," said Colonel Leyland. He turned away to look at the scenery, for he did not like being entangled in a mixed conversation. He noted that the farms were more prosperous, that begging had stopped, that the women were uglier and the men more rotund, that more nourishing food was being eaten outside the wayside inns.

"Colonel Leyland, shall we go to the *Grand Hôtel des Alpes*, to the *Hôtel de Londres*, to the *Pension Liebig*, to the *Pension Atherley-Simon*, to the *Pension Belle Vue*, to the *Pension Old-England*; or to the *Albergo Biscione*?"

"I suppose you would prefer the *Biscione*."

"I really shouldn't mind the *Grand Hôtel des Alpes*. The *Biscione* people own both, I hear. They have become quite rich."

"You should have a splendid reception—if such people know what gratitude is."

For Miss Raby's novel, *The Eternal Moment*, which had made her reputation, had also made the reputation of Vorta.

"Oh, I was properly thanked. Signor Cantù wrote to me about three years after I published. The letter struck me as a little pathetic, though it was very prosperous: I

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

don't like transfiguring people's lives. I wonder whether they live in their old house or in the new one."

Colonel Leyland had come to Vorta to be with Miss Raby; but he was very willing that they should be in different hotels. She, indifferent to such subtleties, saw no reason why they should not stop under the same roof, just as she could not see why they should not travel in the same carriage. On the other hand, she hated anything smart. He had decided on the *Grand Hôtel des Alpes*, and she was drifting towards the *Biscione*, when the tiresome Elizabeth said: "My friend's lady is staying at the *Alpes*."

"Oh! if Elizabeth's friend is there that settles it: we'll all go."

"Very well'm," said Elizabeth, studiously avoiding even the appearance of gratitude. Colonel Leyland's face grew severe over the want of discipline.

"You spoil her," he murmured, when they had all descended to walk up a hill.

"There speaks the military man."

"Certainly I have had too much to do with Tommies to enter into what you call 'human relations.' A little sentimentality, and the whole army would go to pieces."

"I know: but the world isn't an army. So why should I pretend I'm an officer? You remind me of my Anglo-Indian friends, who were so shocked when I would be pleasant to some natives. They proved, quite conclusively, that it would never do for them, and have never seen that the proof didn't apply. The unlucky people here are always trying to lead the lucky; and it must be stopped. You've been unlucky: all your life you've had to command men, and exact prompt obedience and other unprofitable virtues. I'm lucky: I needn't do the same—and I won't."

"Don't then," he said, smiling. "But take care that the world isn't an army after all. And take care, besides, that you aren't being unjust to the unlucky people: we're fairly kind to your beloved lower orders, for instance."

"Of course," she said dreamily, as if he had made her no concession. "It's becoming usual. But they see through it. They, like ourselves, know that only one thing in the world is worth having."

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

"Ah ! yes," he sighed. "It's a commercial age."

"No !" exclaimed Miss Raby, so irritably that Elizabeth looked back to see what was wrong. "You are stupid. Kindness and money are both quite easy to part with. The only thing worth giving away is yourself. Did you ever give yourself away ?"

"Frequently."

"I mean, did you ever, intentionally, make a fool of yourself before your inferiors ?"

"Intentionally, never." He saw at last what she was driving at. It was her pleasure to pretend that such self-exposure was the only possible basis of true intercourse, the only gate in the spiritual barrier that divided class from class. One of her books had dealt with the subject ; and very agreeable reading it made. "What about you ?" he added playfully.

"I've never done it properly. Hitherto I've never felt a really big fool ; but when I do, I hope I shall show it plainly."

"May I be there !"

"You might not like it," she replied. "I may feel it at any moment and in mixed company. Anything might set me off."

"Behold Vorta !" cried the driver, cutting short the sprightly conversation. He and Elizabeth and the carriage had reached the top of the hill. The black woods ceased ; and they emerged into a valley whose sides were emerald lawns, rippling and doubling and merging each into each, yet always with an upward trend, so that it was two thousand feet to where the rock burst out of the grass and made great mountains, whose pinnacles were delicate in the purity of evening.

The driver, who had the gift of repetition, said : "Vorta ! Vorta !"

Far up the valley was a large white village, tossing on undulating meadows like a ship in the sea ; and, at its prow, breasting a sharp incline, stood a majestic tower of new grey stone. As they looked at the tower it became vocal, and spoke magnificently to the mountains, who replied.

They were again informed that this was Vorta, and that

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

that was the new campanile—like the campanile of Venice, only finer—and that the sound was the sound of the campanile's new bell.

"Thank you ; exactly," said Colonel Leyland, while Miss Raby rejoiced that the village had made such use of its prosperity. She had feared to return to the place she had once loved so well, lest she should find something new. It had never occurred to her that the new thing might be beautiful. The architect had indeed gone south for his inspiration ; and the tower which stood among the mountains was akin to the tower which had once stood beside the lagoons. But the birth-place of the bell it was impossible to determine ; for there is no nationality in sound.

They drove forward into the lovely scene, pleased and silent. Approving tourists took them for a well matched couple. There was indeed nothing offensively literary in Miss Raby's kind angular face ; and Colonel Leyland's profession had made him neat rather than aggressive. They did very well for a cultured and refined husband and wife, who had spent their lives admiring the beautiful things with which the world is filled.

As they approached, other churches, hitherto unnoticed, replied—tiny churches, ugly churches, churches painted pink, with towers like pumpkins, churches painted white, with shingle spires, churches hidden altogether in the glades of a wood or the folds of a meadow—till the evening air was full of little voices, with the great voice singing in their midst. Only the English church, lately built in the Early English style, kept chaste silence.

The bells ceased ; and all the little churches receded into darkness. Instead, there was a sound of dressing-gongs, and a vision of tired tourists hurrying back for dinner. A landau, with *Pension Atherley-Simon* upon it, was trotting to meet the diligence, which was just due. A lady was talking to her mother about an evening dress. Young men with rackets were talking to young men with alpenstocks. Then, across the darkness, a fiery finger wrote *Grand Hôtel des Alpes*.

"Behold the electric light !" said the driver, hearing his passengers exclaim.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Pension Belle Vue started out against a pinewood; and, from the brink of the river, the *Hôtel de Londres* replied. *Pensions Liebig* and *Lorelei* were announced in green and amber respectively. The *Old-England* appeared in scarlet. The illuminations covered a large area; for the best hotels stood outside the village, in elevated or romantic situations. This display took place every evening in the season, but only while the diligence arrived. As soon as the last tourist was suited, the lights went out; and the hotel keepers, cursing or rejoicing, retired to their cigars.

"Horrible!" said Miss Raby.

"Horrible people!" said Colonel Leyland.

The *Hôtel des Alpes* was an enormous building, which, being made of wood, suggested a distended chalet. But this impression was corrected by a costly and magnificent view terrace, the squared stones of which were visible for miles, and from which, as from some great reservoir, asphalt paths trickled over the adjacent country. Their carriage, having ascended a private drive, drew up under a vaulted portico of pitch pine, which opened on to this terrace on one side, and into the covered lounge on the other. There was a whirl of officials—men with gold braid, smarter men with more gold braid, men smarter still with no gold braid. Elizabeth assumed an arrogant air, and carried a small straw basket with difficulty. Colonel Leyland became every inch a soldier. Miss Raby, whom, in spite of long experience, a large hotel always flustered, was hurried into an expensive bedroom, and advised to dress herself immediately if she wished to partake of *table d'hôte*.

As she came up the staircase, she had seen the dining room filling with English and with Americans and with rich, hungry Germans. She liked company, but to-night she was curiously depressed. She seemed to be confronted with an unpleasing vision, the outlines of which were still obscure.

"I will eat in my room," she told Elizabeth. "Go to your dinner: I'll do the unpacking."

She wandered round, looking at the list of rules, the list of prices, the list of excursions, the red plush sofa, the jugs and basins on which were lithographed a view of the

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

mountains. Where, amid such splendour, was there a place for Signor Cantù with his china-bowled pipe, and for Signora Cantù with her snuff coloured shawl?

When the waiter at last brought up her dinner, she asked after her host and hostess.

He replied, in cosmopolitan English, that they were both well.

"Do they live here, or at the *Biscione*?"

"Here, why yes. Only poor tourists go to the *Biscione*."

"Who lives there, then?"

"The mother of Signor Cantù. She is unconnected," he continued, like one who has learnt a lesson, "she is unconnected absolutely with us. Fifteen years back, yes. But now, where is the *Biscione*? I beg you contradict if we are spoken about together."

Miss Raby said quietly: "I have made a mistake. Would you kindly give notice that I shall not want my room, and say that the luggage is to be taken, immediately, to the *Biscione*."

"Certainly! certainly!" said the waiter, who was well trained. He added with a vicious snort, "You will have to pay."

"Undoubtedly," said Miss Raby.

The elaborate machinery, which had so recently sucked her in, began to disgorge her. The trunks were carried down, the vehicle in which she had arrived was recalled. Elizabeth, white with indignation, appeared in the hall. She paid for beds in which they had not slept, and for food which they had never eaten. Amidst the whirl of gold-laced officials, who hoped even in that space of time to have established a claim to be tipped, she moved towards the door. The guests in the lounge observed her with amusement, concluding that she had found the hotel too dear.

"What is it? Whatever is it? Are you not comfortable?" Colonel Leyland in his evening dress ran after her.

"Not that; I've made a mistake. This hotel belongs to the son; I must go to the *Biscione*. He's quarrelled with the old people: I think the father's dead."

"But really—if you are comfortable here—"

"I must find out to-night whether it is true. And I

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

must also"—her voice quivered—"find out whether it is my fault."

"How in the name of goodness—"

"I shall bear it if it is," she continued gently. "I am too old to be a tragedy queen as well as an evil genius."

"What does she mean? Whatever does she mean?" he murmured, as he watched the carriage lights descending the hill. "What harm has she done? What harm is there for that matter. Hotel keepers always quarrel: it's no business of ours." He ate a good dinner in silence. Then his thoughts were turned by the arrival of his letters from the post office.

"Dearest Edwin, it is with the greatest diffidence that I write to you, and I know you will believe me when I say that I do not write from curiosity. I only require an answer to one plain question. Are you engaged to Miss Raby or no? Fashions have altered, even since my young days. But, for all that, an engagement is still an engagement, and should be announced at once, to save all parties discomfort. Though your health has broken down and you have abandoned your profession, you can still protect the family honour."

"Drivel!" exclaimed Colonel Leyland. Acquaintance with Miss Raby had made his sight keener. He recognised in this part of his sister's letter nothing but a kind of automatic conventionality. He was no more moved by its perusal than she had been by its composition.

"As for the maid whom the Bannons mentioned to me, she is not a chaperone—nothing but a sop to throw in the eyes of the world. I am not saying a word against Miss Raby, whose books we always read. Literary people are always unpractical; and we are confident that she does not know. Perhaps I do not think her the wife for you; but that is another matter.

"My babes, who all send love (so does Lionel), are at present an unmitigated joy. One's only anxiety is for the future, when the crushing expenses of good education will have to be taken into account. Your loving Nelly."

How could he explain the peculiar charm of the relations between himself and Miss Raby? There had never

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

been a word of marriage, and would probably never be a word of love. If, instead of seeing each other frequently, they should come to see each other always, it would be as sage companions, familiar with life, not as egoistic lovers, craving for infinities of passion which they had no right to demand and no power to supply. Neither professed to be a virgin soul, or to be ignorant of the other's limitations and inconsistencies. They scarcely even made allowances for each other. Toleration implies reserve ; and the greatest safeguard of unruffled intercourse is knowledge. Colonel Leyland had courage of no mean order : he cared little for the opinion of people whom he understood. Nelly and Lionel and their babes were welcome to be shocked or displeased. Miss Raby was an authoress, a kind of Radical ; he a soldier, a kind of aristocrat. But the time for their activities was passing ; he was ceasing to fight, she to write. They could pleasantly spend together their autumn. Nor might they prove the worst companions for a winter.

He was too delicate to admit, even to himself, the desirability of marrying two thousand a year. But it lent an unacknowledged perfume to his thoughts. He tore Nelly's letter into little pieces, and dropped them into the darkness out of the bedroom window.

"Funny lady !" he murmured, as he looked towards Vorta, trying to detect the campanile in the growing light of the moon. "Why have you gone to be uncomfortable ? Why will you interfere in the quarrels of people who can't understand you, and whom you don't understand. How silly you are to think you've caused them. You think you've written a book which has spoiled the place and made the inhabitants corrupt and sordid. I know just how you think. So you will make yourself unhappy, and go about trying to put right what never was right. Funny lady !"

Close below him he could now see the white fragments of his sister's letter. In the valley the campanile appeared, rising out of wisps of silvery vapour.

"Dear lady !" he whispered, making towards the village a little movement with his hands.

(To be continued.)

THE BRITISH FARM LABOURER¹

MR. WILSON FOX, to whom we are already indebted for much painstaking and valuable information regarding the life of the agricultural labourer, has laid us under a fresh obligation in this volume, just issued. Within the compass of 263 pages, we have provided a mass of information regarding the life and conditions of the agricultural community. The classes of labourers are distinguished; their rates of wages and total yearly earnings are detailed; their hours and conditions of work are set out; we are told what they eat and how they are clothed. True, much of this information is dry and hard detail; but the imaginative reader can, from these pages, create the village household for himself. He can picture the family at their humble meals; he may follow the shepherd to the hills or the cattleman to the fields—in brief, he may clothe the skeleton outline of the statistician with the actual happenings of the village life and home.

Mr. Fox, in a useful summary, puts the general conclusions of his enquiry. He finds that in Scotland, Wales, Northumberland, and the north of Ireland, the system of engagement is a yearly or half-yearly one, and that a regular wage is paid. Unmarried men board and lodge in the farmhouses, while cottages are provided for the married men in many districts. In Wales and Ireland, married men frequently have their meals at the farmhouse on working days. In the other northern counties of England, and in Wales, unmarried men are mainly engaged by the year or half-year, while married men are engaged by the week. Generally speaking, weekly wages obtain elsewhere.

¹ *Second Report on the Wages, Earnings, and Conditions of Employment of the Agricultural Labourers in the United Kingdom.* (Cd. 2376.) 1905.

THE BRITISH FARM LABOURER

Turning to earnings, the system of engagement seems to determine the method of payment. Where long engagements prevail, allowances in kind are common, but payments for extra or piece-work do not usually obtain. Where engagements are short, piece-work and extra payment are common.

One interesting Table shows the average earnings per week of the following two classes, viz. :—

- I. Ordinary agricultural labourers, *i.e.* all labourers not specially in charge of animals.
- II. All classes of agricultural labourers, *i.e.* including horsemen, shepherds, cattle-men, etc. (Casual labourers, foremen, and bailiffs, are excluded from this Table.)

In England the wage is $17/5$ for Class I., and $18/3$, or 10d. more, for Class II.

In Wales it is $17/7$ for Class I., $17/3$, or 4d. less, for Class II.

In Scotland it is $19/5$ for Class I., $19/3$, or 2d. less, for Class II.

In Ireland it is $10/9$ for Class I., $10/11$, or 2d. more, for Class II.

Leaving Ireland out of account, it will be seen that the English wage in Class II. is exactly the mean between the Scotch, which is a shilling higher, and the Welsh, a shilling lower, in the same class. But in all the countries there is a great variation between the maximum and minimum rates of wages. For instance, the highest average weekly earnings in England were $22/2$ in Durham, the lowest $14/6$ in Oxfordshire; in Wales, the figures were $21/3$ in Glamorgan and $15/8$ in Cardiganshire; in Scotland, $22/2$ in Renfrew and Lanark, and $13/7$ in Shetland, Orkney, and Caithness; in Ireland, $13/0$ in Co. Down, and $8/9$ in Mayo.

Near industrial centres, the wages are comparatively high; and within the same county it is possible to find a difference of five to seven shillings in wages, due to this cause. Scotland is fortunately situated in this respect. Speaking generally, her agricultural area is bordered by

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

industrial belts. The average earnings which obtain in the different counties are exhibited at a glance in an excellent map, shaded in colours to show the distribution of wages.

Tables are given in which *cash* wages (that is earnings exclusive of allowances and payments in kind) are compared for a number of years. From these Tables we learn that the average increase from 1850—1903 in the rates of weekly cash wages paid on 69 English farms amounted to 57 per cent., and on 10 farms in Ireland to 81·6 per cent. The importance of this rise is emphasised, when it is remembered that the purchasing power of 100 shillings to-day is equal to that of 140 shillings twenty years ago.

It should, however, be remembered, that, in speaking of agricultural wages, care must be exercised to determine exactly what is meant thereby. Wages are made up of cash payments, extra payments, piece-work, and all allowances in kind. For example, a labourer in Glendale, Northumberland, had the following allowances in kind paid to him in 1903:—house and garden, £5; potatoes, £3/10/0; food and drink at harvest, 4/0; coals carted, £1/4/0. Another, in Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, had only £14/16/4 paid him in ordinary weekly cash wages; but he secured three other payments at different times:—piece-work, £22/12/3; corn-harvest, £6/8/8; overtime, £1/12/9—in all, £30/13/8. In dealing, therefore, with the rural wage question, what we must consider is total actual earnings. Mr. Fox does not state whether on this basis the improvement in the economic condition of the agricultural labourer during the last fifty years is as great as would appear from a consideration of his cash wages only.

One outcome of the reading of Mr. Fox's Report will be, I think, to give the town-dweller a higher opinion of the agricultural labourer; and the disdainful term "clod-hopper" will not fall lightly from the lips of those who have realised how much skill and knowledge are required to perform satisfactorily the work which is expected from the ordinary all-round labourer in the country. The town-dweller often regards the agricultural labourer as a man whose work is so simple, that anyone possessed of enough

THE BRITISH FARM LABOURER

physical power could do it. This Report rudely dispels any such notions. Apart from bailiffs, stewards, and foremen, there are, roughly speaking, two large classes of labourers—those in charge of animals, and those who are not. The former includes shepherds, men in charge of cattle—cattle-men, stockmen, cowmen, herdmen, yardsmen, foggers—and men in charge of horses—horsekeepers, horsemen, carters, waggoners, teamsters, team-men, and hinds. These men have duties involving long hours and arduous toil. The shepherd must be able to lamb, shear, and wash, must be prepared to travel long distances, and may be said generally to have no hours. The cattle-men, besides the everyday care of their charges, are frequently called upon to milk cows and to look after calves. Horsemen must feed, groom, and get their teams ready for the field, and must also turn to the ordinary work of the farm.

The ordinary labourer—the Hodge of the political humorist—must be able to sow and weed, to plant and lift roots and potatoes, to hay-make, harvest, thresh, drain, hedge, and ditch. It will thus be seen that the man whose average earnings over the whole country are but $18/3$ a week, has to be a man of much more skill than the ordinary unskilled labourer in the town.

Leaving the work and wages of the agricultural labourer, the Report proceeds to consider, briefly, how he lives. We have seen that his average wage in England is $18/3$. Mr. Fox calculates that he may make in addition $1/3$ weekly from garden produce, poultry, and the customary pig. He next considers how the income is spent, and gives the following as a typical labourer's budget for a man with a family :—

	s.	d.
Expenditure for food	13	$6\frac{1}{2}$ ¹
Rent	1	6
Light and fire	1	9
Club		6
Clothes	3	0
	<hr/>	
	20	$3\frac{1}{2}$

¹ In Scotland the average expenditure for food is $15/2\frac{1}{2}$, in Ireland it is $10/5\frac{1}{4}$.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

It will be noted that this is $9\frac{1}{2}$ d. in excess of the average wage, even allowing $1/3$ for garden produce.

It is important to observe how the $13/6\frac{1}{2}$ for food is laid out. The information on this head is based on 114 returns, and represents the ordinary expenditure on food by a farm labourer with a wife and four children. The food produced at home is valued at retail shop prices. The family consume weekly about 7 pounds of meat, of which more than half is pork or bacon. Their weekly rations also include about $34\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of bread and flour, 26 pounds of potatoes, $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of tea, 1 pound of butter, 1 pound of lard, margarine, or dripping, $4\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of sugar, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ pints of new or $8\frac{3}{4}$ pints of skimmed milk.

Let us just examine how far this represents an adequate diet. Assuming the ages of the children to be, say, 1, 4, 8, and 14 years, the nutritive value of this dietary is equal to 3389 calories of food energy and 96 grammes protein (*i.e.* nitrogenous food) per man per day. The standard average requirement, however, for a man doing "moderate" work is 3500 calories food energy, and 125 grammes protein. This is certainly not an over-estimate of the requirements of an agricultural labourer. It will thus be seen that, while the energy value of the diet of the agricultural labourer is only about 3 per cent. below the standard requirements, the protein falls short by 22.4 per cent. The importance of an adequate supply of protein in the dietary is indicated in the following extract from Dr. Hutchinson's well-known book on *Food and Principles of Dietetics*. "The deficit in protein," he says "produces what may be called threadbare tissues; and such a condition of things makes for low resistance and for disease. . . . The difference, in fact, between an animal fed on highly nitrogenous diet, and one supplied with little nitrogen, is the difference between a steam engine at half pressure and one which is producing full horse power. To growing children, a deficiency in proteid in the diet, is especially disastrous; for the lack of building material which it entails may result in impaired growth and development, the consequence of which may last throughout life." The probability is, that the deficiency shown by

THE BRITISH FARM LABOURER

the budget of the agricultural labourer is felt most severely by the woman and children, as is the case with the town labourer's family.

Going more into detail, Mr. Fox gives a number of budgets showing the food actually consumed at the different meals in various families. In most cases, these are of a character which indicates fairly comfortable living, though the figures given above show the *quantity* of the food to be still below the amount necessary for the full physical efficiency.

To sum up some of the general conclusions to be drawn from a perusal of Mr. Fox's admirable Report, it may be said that the total earnings of unskilled labour in many parts of the United Kingdom are higher than is usually supposed to be the case; but there are large areas, including the whole of Ireland and much of the south of England, in which they are seriously inadequate.

Dealing with the average figures, however, the economic position of the agricultural labourer compares more favourably with that of the town labourer than is generally supposed. It must, of course, be remembered that, in comparing the two, allowance should be made in the case of the agricultural labourer for the produce of his garden and the lowness of his rent. Taking these into consideration, the 18s. 3d. which represents the average earnings of the agricultural labourer, is probably worth as much as, say, 23s. or 24s. in town. In the case, therefore, of those districts where agricultural wages rule high, it is to be doubted whether the economic condition of the labourer is materially improved by moving into the town, though undoubtedly the chances of rising to a place of responsibility, with its higher wage, are greater in the town than in the country. For, in the towns, there are not a few positions which are occupied by men who have no trade at their command, and yet are comparatively well paid, such, for example, as the police-force, watchmen, etc. Probably, as in betting, "Hits count of course, but misses are hushed up;" and those who are left in the country hear of the successes of their brothers who have gone to the town, but do not hear of the large numbers who have been unable to

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

obtain a safe footing on the industrial ladder, and lead in the slums of our great cities lives altogether less desirable than those of the agricultural labourer.

Whilst, therefore, the earnings of agricultural labourers are still below the standard which is required for full physical efficiency, and whilst they leave no margin for saving or for the leisure and recreation necessary for adequate development of the higher sides of a man's nature, it would appear that, for large districts, the cause of the rush to the town must be sought in other directions than the difference of wages. There is no doubt that the lack of outlook in the case of the agricultural labourer is a most important cause of rural depopulation. If an intelligent and energetic man knew that, as the result of hard labour and thrift, he would be able to become a small peasant proprietor, then the towns would exercise less attractive force for him, and the best men would be willing to stay in the country. They are not willing to do so as long as 18/- or £1 a week is the greatest prize for which even the best can hope. The dullness of village life adds another powerful factor to the attractive forces of the towns ; but that also would be largely solved by the development of small holdings. In Denmark, the small holder, who has a stake in the land, does not complain of dullness ; for the development of his property is to him and his family a never-ending source of interest. But the Swedish labourers, who have no stake in the land, and who go over to work in Denmark, lounge about after work hours in the same aimless fashion as do the labourers in villages at home.

In conclusion, I should like to add a word of thanks to Mr. Fox for the work he has done. He has collected an amazing number of facts ; and there is evidence of much care in their collection. That there is need for still further investigation into the actual conditions of life in our villages need hardly be said ; but the investigator of the future will be greatly helped in his work by the material which Mr. Fox has collected.

B. SEEBOHM ROWNTREE

OTHER REVIEWS

THE AGE OF MITHRA¹

ALL who have read Professor Dill's account of the last years of the Western Empire will welcome the companion volume which he has now given us on Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius. The main significance of this new work consists in the contribution it makes to a better understanding of the spiritual movement which produced the results so strikingly portrayed in Professor Dill's earlier studies. At first sight, indeed, the two books would seem to sketch two very different epochs ; the one showed us the Roman order collapsing into chaos, the other culminates in that age which seemed to Gibbon to have reached the high water-mark of human felicity ; the one showed us Christianity triumphant, the other scarcely mentions the name of a sect still too obscure for notice. And yet the Antonine age is the true parent of the age of Honorius : the second century contains the elements which brought about the great transformation of the fourth century and the great catastrophe of the fifth.

A comparison of the two epochs raises two questions of vital interest. How was it that the political system, which seems to work so well in the time of Marcus Aurelius, broke down so completely in the century after his death, and led to the violent and ruinous but inevitable revolution carried through by Diocletian, Constantine, and his successors. How was it that Rome abandoned the gods, under whose favour she had grown so great and so

¹ *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*. By Samuel Dill: London : Macmillan, 1904.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

prosperous, for a creed that inverted all the values she had hitherto put on things, that decried her wisdom as folly, her pleasures as sinful, her divinities as devils ; that was even more fundamentally hostile to her virtues than it was to her vices ?

To the first of these questions Professor Dill makes little or no attempt to give a direct answer. He occasionally notes the signs of decay in political life, and he frequently calls attention to the "mysterious eclipse" which was to rest on intellect till the end of the Empire ; but the political decadence is unexplained, and the eclipse of intellect is left a mystery. He says nothing of the decline of the military spirit which had already set in under Augustus and, though checked for a moment by Trajan, gradually infected all classes, till she who had conquered the world came to depend for her very existence on the arms of hired barbarians. He notes the avarice and selfishness which combined to render the upper classes of Rome averse to rearing children, and he draws a vivid picture of the death-bed of the childless rich ; but he does little to explain that general decline of population, which was not confined to the corrupt society of the capital, but pervaded all ranks and all races, except the Jews, and all provinces except Egypt—a disease apparently inseparable from the civilisation which it was to destroy. Nor does Professor Dill give any detailed treatment to the question of the decay of local patriotism, the breakdown of the keen municipal life which was the glory and the mainstay of the Empire. He describes the intensity of that public spirit, the lavish and even reckless generosity of the rich in the interest of the community ; he shows how successfully public opinion insisted on the duties of wealth, and how cheerfully wealth recognised and fulfilled the claims made upon it. He also indicates that this public spirit and delight in municipal life were already beginning to wane ; even in Domitian's reign measures have to be taken to meet a possible dearth of candidates for the municipal magistracies, as early as Nerva and Trajan incompetence or corruption led to the interference of the central government in the financial administration of provincial and even of Italian cities, while Hadrian's

THE AGE OF MITHRA

organisation of the Imperial service created a dangerous rival to the career of office offered by the local communities. All these signs of disease are noted from time to time ; but no attempt is made to trace the causes and growth of the movement which led to the old system of self-government being replaced by a centralised bureaucracy. Similarly on the economic side, Professor Dill certainly emphasises the great movement which led to the rise of a free proletariat, and to the acquisition of wealth and importance by the freedman class : the contempt of the free-born Roman for trade and industry gave a monopoly of these sources of wealth to those who were below such prejudices, while the great capitalists found it more profitable to work their businesses by means of freedmen rather than by slaves. But the author's main object in his brilliant sketch of this class of society is to exhibit its moral atmosphere rather than its economic significance; and he scarcely hints at the many forces which were at that time working to undermine the whole system of Roman economy—we hear little of the *latifundia* that had long ruined Italy, and were, as early as Pliny's time, ruining the provinces as well. Nothing is said of the *Colonnate*, whose origin is to be sought in Marcus Aurelius' settlements of barbarians to strengthen the decaying defences and replenish the dwindling population of the Empire ; no hint is given of the debasement of the currency which had already set in and, though as yet scarcely observed, was leading on to the fiscal disasters of the third century, and the still more disastrous efforts of Diocletian at reform.

All these tendencies—the decay of the military spirit, the decay of civic patriotism, the determined trend of the civilised world towards self-extinction, the economic cancer devouring the vital forces of each limb of the Empire, the admission of barbarians as an alien element, introduced into, but not assimilated by the body of the State—all these forces were at work in the society which Professor Dill has selected to describe, and all contributed to produce the transformation with which he has already made us familiar ; but they receive little or no detailed treatment at his hands. He aims at a nobler or, at least, a more elusive quarry. Others may portray the military, political, or economic characteristics of

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the age ; to him such things are, for the most part, interesting only as they throw light on the main object of his quest, the moral and spiritual movement of society. He realises clearly the difficulty of making an accurate estimate of such matters. Even contemporary statements must be received with caution ; no author can know the inner mind of more than a small circle, and the unanimous evidence of a number of authors need not be conclusive with regard to the general state of religious belief in their time. All of them may, and indeed frequently do, belong to the same class, and represent the view of only a small section of society ; the great mass of the people are, for the most part, inarticulate. At the same time, Archæology may be used in this, as in many matters, to supplement and correct our literary evidence : dedicatory inscriptions, epitaphs—provided we remember the caution that an epitaph “should not be construed as a confession of faith”—and the material remains of shrines and temples throughout the Roman world go far to illustrate the beliefs of the time, and the spread and distribution of the various cults.

Combining the results of archæological research with a penetrating and sympathetic study of the contemporary literature, Professor Dill gives us a clear and convincing sketch of the spiritual condition of the world under the Early Empire. It was an age in which elaborate sensuality and gross materialism existed side by side with a deep thirst for righteousness, an increasingly purer conception of the divine nature, and, together with a growing consciousness of man's helplessness, an ever acuter longing for communion with God. Philosophy has discarded the old search for abstract truth. Its work is concentrated on conduct ; and, even in the limited sphere of Ethics, its aim is not to arrive at a scientific system, but to discover rules of practical utility. It has become “the Art rather than the Science of Life.”

With this change of aim, the old rigid lines that marked off school from school are obliterated ; all sects tend to become eclectic, and practically all are agreed on certain fundamental principles. The Kingdom of Heaven is within us, and can only be reached by renouncing the world and

THE AGE OF MITHRA

suppressing the passions. This is the Gospel of Philosophy, from Seneca, the millionaire and the guide of princes, to the deformed slave Epictetus. Nor is there less agreement as to the means for getting free from the world and entering into the Kingdom. The Stoic Seneca, "the earliest and most powerful Apostle of the great moral revival," the father confessor of the stricken aristocracy of Nero's reign, inculcates the need for prolonged self-discipline, daily self-examination, regular confession ; he advises the patient to select the example of some great and good man in the past, and to live as though under his eyes. The Platonic Plutarch, who differs so widely from Seneca in his attitude to religion, and elaborates a philosophic defence of that pagan mythology for which the Stoic had scarcely concealed his contempt, yet agrees with both the aims and the methods of Seneca : he too advises self-scrutiny, confession, the selection of some great example as a source of strength and inspiration. The doctrine of forgiveness, too, is common property. "Forgive," says Seneca, "if you wish for forgiveness: conquer evil with good: do good even to those who have wrought you evil." So says Musonius, who united the Pythagorean discipline with the Cynic austerity and the Stoic virtues. So too Dio Chrysostom, who belonged to no school, but was "the rhetorical apostle" of the great moral principles on which all schools were agreed. With regard to the divine nature, too, there is the same essential agreement. The atheist school of Epicurus had long lost the great vogue it had enjoyed in the last years of the Republic ; all sects of importance recognised the existence of God, His unity and His care for man. Some philosophers, like the Platonists, may believe in a long chain of divine beings linking man to the Infinite Spirit ; others, like Dion, may defend paganism's anthropomorphic representations of the godhead. But all are fundamentally monotheistic ; and all endeavour to bring man into communion with God.

Philosophy has, in fact, become a religion, and, in the process, it has changed its methods and widened its scope ; its appeal is made to the emotions as well as to the intellect, to the untrained masses as well as to the educated few. "In

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the first and second centuries there was a great propaganda of pagan morality running parallel to the Evangelism of the Church." Philosophy has its sensational revivals, its instantaneous conversions, its illiterate preachers. The principal exponents of this evangelical philosophy were the Cynics. In every market place they might be seen protesting, by precept and example, against the materialism of the age, the conventions of society, the superstitions of pagan religion. They were "the purest Monotheists that classical antiquity produced;" they were Tolstoyan in their contempt for the social order, and Pauline in their scorn of the world's wisdom. Indeed, their connection with the primitive Church was often intimate. Peregrinus, who showed the world how a Cynic despised death by plunging into the blazing pyre at Olympia, had in earlier days been "a great leader and prophet among the Christians of Palestine." And he is no isolated instance of the ease with which men passed from the one camp to the other.

But, though Philosophy now spread her net for classes which she had hitherto ignored, though she came before all men as an "ambassador of God," the mass of men, of the upper as well as of the lower classes, could not rest satisfied with her ministration. Though her intellectual demands were less severe than before, she required a morality too high for the men of that age to maintain; though she now appealed to the emotions as well as to the reason, she neglected the most potent of all appeals, the appeal to the senses. It was an age of craven terror and insatiable egotism: the more unworthy they had become to live at all, the more feverishly did the men of that day desire to live for ever. What they demanded was an assurance of hope in death, a pledge of their own personal immortality; and that pledge it was not always in the power or the desire of Philosophy to give. The greater spirits, a Marcus Aurelius, a Galen, an Epictetus, were content to obey God's call when death came, and to leave the future to His will. For the majority, such a height of morality was unattainable. The only philosophy which offered the solace demanded by the terror-stricken Ego, was the Pythagorean and Neo-Platonist. "The Neo-Platonist school, with Plutarch and Maximus at

THE AGE OF MITHRA

their head, were, in this age, the great apostles of the hope of immortality." But the Neo-Platonist assumed immortality as a postulate; he did not attempt to prove it; and it was proof and certainty that the age required. For that certainty it had to desert the pseudo-religion of philosophy for the genuine unadulterated religions of the East, whose sensuous appeal gave it a mesmeric power of conviction far beyond the reach of the most ecstatic philosophy.

It seemed at one time certain that one or other of these Oriental worships, the religion of Isis or of Mithra, would win that spiritual conquest of the world to which philosophy had aspired in vain. Mithra seemed gifted with every requisite for conquering, and the world had every predisposition to be conquered: in their elaborate daily ritual, their great festivals, their purificatory rites, in their discipline, mysteries and grades of initiation, in their guilds of votaries, where all secular distinctions were superseded and the slave was the equal of the noble, in their highly organised priesthoods, specially trained and set apart to mediate between God and Man, these two religions seem to possess every instrument for winning and retaining dominion over the minds of their devotees. And, at the same time, the world had the most intense desire to believe. What Isis and Mithra offered is what all were craving to receive—cleansing from sin, hope in death, eternal life beyond the grave. Nor was the world's power to believe inferior to its desire. Few ages have been gifted with such a facile and catholic credulity. Astrology, witchcraft, necromancy, were dreaded by many, but doubted by few. Miracles were matters of every day occurrence. Old oracles revived, and new ones sprang up in teeming abundance—the rank, luxuriant growths of a tropical forest of superstition. While the old religion held its own since the Augustan revival, and was used by the Emperors as a support of their power and a link to connect their rule with that of Romulus and Numa, all the innumerable local deities of every district of the Empire, from Cumberland to the Soudan, were enrolled in the Roman pantheon by the catholic devotion of the soldier and the trader; and, along with this all embracing

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

adoption of existing divinities, went a wonderful power of creating new gods. For every person, place, institution, even for every god, a "genius" was liable to be invented and worshipped; and the amazing revival of the mythopœic faculty is amply testified by the career of Alexander of Abonoteichus, the cult of Antinous, Lucian's eagerly accepted legend of Peregrinus' ghost, the peculiarly sincere worship of Marcus Aurelius, and the dream visions which he was credited with sending long after his death, when all interested motives for a feigned belief had disappeared.

But, running through all this fertility in religion, there is an equally strong tendency to Monotheism. The practice of identifying gods of different names was an old one in the pagan world; and none knew how to take advantage of it better than Isis and Mithra. Isis identified other divinities with herself, and, in identifying, absorbed them. Mithra's cave gave hospitality to his fellow gods; but the host knew how to subordinate the guests to himself. Professor Dill well compares Mithra's relation to the other gods with Rome's relation to the other cities of her Empire, whom she tolerates, recognises, and encourages, under her own unchallenged supremacy.

How was it, then, that Mithra, coming at such a time, to such an age, with the message which all longed to hear, failed, in spite of his organising power, his mesmeric gifts and his diplomatic skill, to become the religion of the world? Professor Dill finds the answer partly in the god's origin, and partly in his catholicity. Mithra, for all his spirituality, was, after all, rooted in nature worship; and, for all his purity, his tolerance allied him with impure powers. He never shook off the accretions of astrology which had grown on him in his passage through Babylon; and his recognition of the baser worships of paganism made it impossible for him to rise to a higher plane than they. The movement of the world was set towards a purer and more human God. The answer is certainly incomplete; but, within the scope of his present work, Professor Dill could hardly have made it more definite and detailed. The third century contains the secret of the mortality of Mithra, and the triumph of Christianity. It was then, and

HENRY SIDGWICK

not in Julian's time, that the decisive battle was fought; and, in concluding this review, we would express an earnest hope that the next achievement of Professor Dill's massive learning and imaginative insight will be the elucidation of that century of which he truly says, that it "was crowded with great events, and pregnant with great spiritual movements."

N. WEDD

HENRY SIDGWICK¹

THE friends of Henry Sidgwick, old and young, can rejoice that this volume of collected essays has been published to show the world, better than the works on which his professional reputation is based, what manner of man he himself was. Those who read this book, (and they should include all who are interested either in religion, in literature, or in education), will be refreshed and inspired by that direct contact with a unique personality, for which it is the peculiar merit of books of *Miscellaneous Essays* to afford the opportunity. So far as Henry Sidgwick's attitude to life can be formulated, it is formulated in this volume; and the qualities of mind and character which are so far more interesting than any point of view, shine out in these pages. It is impossible to reproduce in a review, for the benefit of one who has not read the book, the essence of these mental qualities; just as it is vain to describe, to one who never saw Sidgwick in person, the wistful stare of his eyes, fixed in thought on the something that lies hid in vacancy; the tender curves of his exquisitely moulded features; the melodious and charmingly interrupted flow of earnest and well pondered words; the courteous equality with which one of the rarest of men treated all the most ordinary mortals as if they were fellow-searchers after truth.

If Henry Sidgwick was not great (and he was certainly greater than many keepers of famous stalls in the world's

¹ *Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses*. By Henry Sidgwick. London: Macmillan. 1904.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

market, who think more of the advertisement and sale than of the value of their wares) at least we can say that men of his value are as rare as the great are rare. Many have equalled him in goodness, for extreme goodness is fortunately not so uncommon as intellectual genius ; some have surpassed him in intellect ; and many in force. But a certain combination of extreme goodness with love of truth and subtle intellect, so intimate that it is impossible to disentangle one from the other, so harmonious that the whole seems a new masterpiece of inventive nature, gave to this man's life a value which those who knew him would not have had him barter away for the highest of worldly crowns.

One peculiar quality of Sidgwick's character was, that he combined love of truth for its own sake, with reforming zeal. For both these objects he again and again made great and personal sacrifices ; he underwent intellectual, emotional, and material hardships in order to secure the free investigation of truth, not because he thought truth would reveal to him what he wanted to believe (as is the way with most reformers who show zeal for *libre examen*), but simply in order that the truth, whatever it should prove, might be discovered. This quality of mind is seldom found in England ; and, when it is found, it generally goes with a very unemotional type of mind, which has withdrawn itself from the heat and sweat of the world, and has learnt *nil admirari*. Hardly ever is this love of truth for its own sake found in one who takes a leading part in the progress and amendment of society, like Henry Sidgwick, to whom women's education, among the many causes he espoused, owes more than to any other man of his time. This combination of disinterested pursuit of truth with the passion for active reform, which was his essential character, is better illustrated in these essays than in any other of his written works.

The essays at end of the book are the legacy to our generation of a great academic reformer. The essays on *Classical Education*, and on *Idle Fellowships*, and the *Lecture against Lecturing*, should be common-places with everyone who seriously studies educational problems in England ; for

HENRY SIDGWICK

they go to the root of our system of teaching, alike at school and at college. If in one or all of his contentions Sidgwick is wrong (I do not pretend to decide that point), his opponents ought to be able to show why.

The lecture on *Idle Fellowships* is really more extensive than the title implies; for it attacks the highly elaborated English system of giving large money prizes for examination work alone, to youths between the ages of twelve and twenty-six. The latter part of the essay is really an analysis of the evil effect of perpetual examination on the student, especially if he is stimulated by money prizes to neglect all other forms of study and of culture.

The *Lecture against Lecturing* can best be explained in his own words.

“My view is, that this species of lecture, when addressed to students who have duly learnt, and are willing to use, the art of reading books, is, in most cases, an unsuitable and uneconomical employment of the time of the teacher and the class.” (p. 343)

“All I contend is, that the need for the expository lecture might be very much reduced, and ought to be reduced, by giving every possible encouragement to the teacher to disseminate his doctrine through the medium of the Press. My complaint against the existing system is, that it has the precisely opposite effect. It gives the utmost inducement to a teacher to keep the most indispensable part of his teaching unpublished. For, since law or custom requires him to deliver a certain number of lectures on a given subject, when he has once published a systematic treatise on this subject he finds himself in a dilemma resembling that presented by the Omar of tradition to the Alexandrian Library. What he says in his lecture is either in his book or it is not; if it is there, it is superfluous to say it over again; if it is not there, he cannot regard it as very important, unless his views have changed, or some new discovery has been made, since he wrote his book.” (p. 347)

The Theory of Classical Education can be recommended

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

to those who, having, by the recent vote of Cambridge, confirmed the existing monopoly of classical study in the educational world, are in duty bound to reform the classical teaching which they impose upon the public-school boy.

“The training in æsthetic perception,” Sidgwick writes, “seems to me to be conveyed much more satisfactorily in the process of translation, than in what is generally supposed to teach it, composition in Greek and Latin.”

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“An ambitious boy often loses all delicacy and truth of taste in the effort to assimilate all ‘useful’ words and phrases which, however bad in taste they may be, will at least decorate and set off his own ‘rude, rough things.’ The assertion that masterpieces cannot be appreciated without an effort to imitate them, seems to me contrary to common sense, to our experience in our own language, to our universal practice in studying foreign literatures, and to the analogy of other arts. And the imitation that is encouraged at schools in the process of verse-writing is the very worst sort of imitation; it is something which, if it were proposed in respect of any other models than these, we should at once reject as intolerably absurd.” (p. 298)

It is interesting to find a fine scholar like Henry Sidgwick using this language, which is the cry of all of us who failed as scholars at our public schools, and for whom, therefore, four years of life were almost wasted as far as learning is concerned. We had not time to learn to read Greek, or Latin, much less to learn German or Science, because our time was taken up in composing Hexameters and Iambics, as a child puts together a Chinese puzzle. And here Sidgwick shows us that the cry of the dunce is also that of the true scholar.

We have in this volume, besides this legacy of an educational reformer, some economic essays of which I am incompetent to speak; some literary essays on Shakespeare, which are excellent examples of what criticism should be; and an admirable essay on Clough, both as religious sceptic

and as poet, probably the best utterance that has ever been made on the subject of that remarkable man.

As an example of Sidgwick's style of humour we may quote the passage about Macaulay :—

“Culture has turned up its nose a little at our latest English classic, and would, I think, have done so more, but that it is touched and awed by his wonderful devotion to literature. But Macaulay, though he loved literature, loved also common people and common things, and, therefore, he can make the common people who live among common things love literature. How Philistinish it is of him to be stirred to eloquence by the thoughts of ‘the opulent and enlightened States of Italy, the vast and magnificent cities, the ports, the arsenals, the villas,’ etc., etc. But the Philistine's heart is opened by these images ; through his heart a way is found to his taste ; he learns how delightful a melodious current of stirring words may be ; and then, when Macaulay asks him to mourn for ‘the wit and the learning and the genius’ of Florence, he does not refuse faintly to mourn ; and so Philistinism and culture kiss each other.” (p. 54)

But the first two essays in the book, *Ecce Homo* and *The Prophet of Culture*, give the best picture of Sidgwick himself. In form, the first is an attack on Seeley, and the second, an attack on Matthew Arnold. In essence, the first is a defence of critical methods and results, at the expense of orthodox religion, by one who is as Christian at heart as his brain will permit him to be ; and the second is a defence of the spirit of religious enthusiasm and political reform, at the expense of culture, by one whose intellectual inclinations were all to culture if his heart did not call him to be a reformer.

Sidgwick's exposure of Seeley's most un-German methods in Biblical criticism, of the complete inadequacy of his equipment, and of the natural effect thereof upon his conclusions in so highly technical a subject, are the more forcible, because of the critic's sympathy with the religious object and the literary idea of Seeley's book. “His method we think radically wrong, his conclusions only roughly and partially right. But the one thing in which we agree with him outweighs all the rest. We desire, as sincerely as he

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

does, that the influence of Jesus on the modern world should increase and not decrease." The difference between the book *Ecce Homo* and the review of it, is the difference between Seeley and Sidgwick; between the desire to produce a praiseworthy and large effect on the one hand, and the love of truth on the other. The one results from the political, the other from the philosophical temperament, displayed in two equally religious men; in a politically minded country it is not difficult to tell which fares the best.

Most interesting of all is Sidgwick's sympathetic defence of the Pharisees, with whom he disagrees at least as profoundly as Seeley can do, but for whom he insists on securing fair play.

"But our author (Seeley) reads the passage otherwise. It was only the Roman soldiers he forgave. Having hated in the world his enemies, the legalists, he hated them unto the end. In his dying moments he pointedly excepted them from pardon; thus giving his followers a most solemn intimation that 'the enthusiasm of humanity,' though it destroys 'a great deal of hatred . . . creates as much more,' that the new commandment he gave unto them did not exclude bitterness, irreconcilable hostility, intolerant anger, vindictive enmity.

"Here, then, is what the enthusiasm of humanity comes to; here is the last fashion of the *Imitatio Christi*. We are to love the whole human race, except our religious adversaries; we are to cherish the Ideal of man in every man, only not in a legalist. We are to have an inexhaustible sympathy with those who are trying in every way to do wrong; nothing but enmity for those who are trying in a mistaken way to do right. We are not to burn anyone, we are told, on the whole; we might burn the wrong man; but the spirit of *auto-da-fé* is thoroughly Christian. Some one ought to be burnt, if we could only tell who." (p. 37)

In *The Prophet of Culture* Sidgwick rises in similar indignation against a want of sweetness and light in Matthew Arnold. The essay shows how fully he appreciated all the positive part of Arnold's message; but he quarrels with his contempt for dissenters, for political reformers, and for the spirit of religious enthusiasm in all its forms. He thinks

HENRY SIDGWICK

that though Arnold understood the value, he did not understand the limitations of culture. It will be best to let Sidgwick speak for himself on this great subject.

“Life shows us the conflict and the discord; on one side are the claims of harmonious self-development; on the other, the cries of struggling humanity.” “There is much useful and important work to be done, which may be done harmoniously; still, we cannot honestly say that this seems to us the most useful, the most important work, or what in the interests of the world is most pressingly entreated and demanded. This latter, if done at all, must be done as self-sacrifice, not as self-development. And so we are brought face to face with the most momentous and profound problem of ethics. (p. 44)

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“It is at this point, I think, that the relation of culture and religion is clearly tested and defined. Culture (if I have understood and analysed it rightly) inevitably takes one course. It recognises with a sigh the limits of self-development, and its first enthusiasm becomes ‘tempered by renouncement.’ Religion, of which the essence is self-sacrifice, inevitably takes the other course. We see this daily realised in practice; we see those we know and love; we see the *élite* of humanity in history and literature coming to this question, and after a struggle answering it; going, if they are strong, clear souls, some one way and some the other, if they are irresolute, vacillating, and ‘moving in a strange diagonal,’ between the two. It is because he ignores this antagonism, which seems to me so clear and undeniable if stated without the needless and perilous exaggerations which preachers have used about it, that I have called Mr. Arnold perverse. (p. 45)

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“When Mr. Arnold is harping on the ‘dissidence of Dissent,’ I recall the little phrase which M. Renan throws at the magnificent fabric of Bossuet’s attack upon Protestantism. ‘En France,’ he says, ‘on ne comprend pas qu’on se divise pour si peu de chose.’ M. Renan knows

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

that ever since the reviving intellect of Europe was turned upon theology, religious dissidence and variation has meant religious life and force.

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“He seems to me (if so humble a simile may be pardoned) to judge of religious organisations as a dog judges of human beings, chiefly by the scent. One admires in either case the exquisite development of the organ, but feels that the use of it for this particular object implies a curious, an almost ludicrous, limitation of sympathy. When these popular religions are brought before Mr. Arnold, he is content to detect their strong odours of Philistinism and vulgarity; he will not stoop down and look into them; he is not sufficiently interested in their dynamical importance; he does not care to penetrate the secret of their fire and strength, and learn the sources and effects of these; much less does he consider how sweetness and light may be added without any loss of fire and strength.

“This limitation of view in Mr. Arnold seems to me the more extraordinary, when I compare it with the fervent language he uses with respect to what is called, *par excellence*, the Oxford Movement. He even half associates himself with the movement—or rather, he half associates the movement with himself.” (p. 50)

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“And so, again, the attitude that culture often assumes towards enthusiasm in general seems to spring from narrowness, from imperfection of culture. The fostering care of culture, and a soft application of sweetness and light, might do much for enthusiasm—enthusiasm does so much want it. Enthusiasm is often a turbid issue of smoke and sparks. Culture might refine this to a steady glow. It is melancholy when, instead, it takes to pouring cold water on it. The worst result is not the natural hissing and sputtering that ensues, though that cannot be pleasing to culture or to anything else, but the waste of power that is the inevitable consequence.” (p. 51)

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HENRY SIDGWICK

“Passion, strife, feverish endeavour—surely in the midst of these have been produced not only the rough blocks with which the common world builds, but the jewels with which culture is adorned.” (p. 52)

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“When a miserable fanatic has knocked down some social abuse with much peril of life and limb, culture is good enough to point out to him that he need not have taken so much trouble; culture had seen the thing was falling; it would soon have fallen of its own accord; the crash has been unpleasant and raised a good deal of disagreeable dust.”

“All this criticism of action is very valuable; but it is usually given in excess, just because, I think, culture is a little sore in conscience, is uncomfortably eager to excuse its own evident incapacity for action. Culture is always hinting at a convenient season, that rarely seems to arrive. It is always suggesting one decisive blow that is to be gracefully given; but it is so difficult to strike quite harmoniously, and without some derangement of attitude. Hence an instinctive, and, I think, irrational, discouragement of the action upon which less cultivated people are meanwhile spending themselves. For what does action, social action, really mean? It means losing oneself in a mass of disagreeable, hard, mechanical details, and trying to influence many dull or careless or bigoted people for the sake of ends that were at first of doubtful brilliancy, and are continually being dimmed and dwarfed by the clouds of conflict. Is this the kind of thing to which human nature is desperately prone, and into which it is continually rushing with perilous avidity?” (p. 56)

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When people have studied this extraordinary outburst, they will be better able to judge what manner of man was Henry Sidgwick. He himself soon figured as one of the “miserable fanatics” whom he thus defends against the cultured. He wrote this article in 1867. Two years later, he resigned his Fellowship at Trinity, Cambridge, and temporarily reduced himself to straitened means, because the

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

religious declaration which had been the legal condition of his accepting the Fellowship, had recently ceased to be his belief. This action, which was shared by his brother, Arthur Sidgwick, had, as Leslie Stephen says, "a marked effect in stimulating the agitation for the abolition of tests." The Test Act of 1871, by which the Universities were opened to Dissenters and unbelievers, is a boon which we owe, not to the spirit of culture, but to the spirit of non-conformity, of which Henry Sidgwick was a far-shining example. May his spirit not utterly die out from among men. When non-conformity is found only in the Temples of Philistia, Zion's walls are without their guard.

G. M. TREVELYAN

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THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

VOL. VI. NO. 22

JULY, 1905

CONTENTS

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

THE CASE OF SIR ANTONY MAC-
DONNELL MRS. J. R. GREEN

SEPARATION IN FRANCE
ROBERT DELL

OPTIMISM AND MR. MEREDITH :
A Reply G. M. TREVELYAN

A NEW WAY WITH THE LORDS
J. A. HOBSON

HAIL! PYTHO (Poem)
T. STURGE MOORE

SWEDEN AND NORWAY
A SWEDISH PATRIOT

THE ETERNAL MOMENT Chap. II.
E. M. FORSTER

PATRIOTISM AND COMPATRIOTISM
EDWARD JENKS

OTHER REVIEWS

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NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

OPINIONS will differ as to apportionment of blame for the unfortunate close in confusion and uproar of the debate on the adjournment upon May 22nd. The House of Commons, an assembly of 400 men, on an exciting evening is a restive horse, and will career far and wildly if the guiding hand is weak or careless. Gladstone, Disraeli, or Lord Randolph would, with a few good-humoured sentences, have restored confidence and quiet. The Leader of the House of to-day sat for three-quarters of an hour, a careless and sneering spectator of the disturbance, without any effort to check it. His responsibility is all the more serious, because no one can doubt for a moment that the ebullition of feeling was due to a belief that his refusal to answer Sir Henry at once was "another of Balfour's dodges." What indeed is most serious in the whole event is, that the Opposition should exhibit such an outburst of unpremeditated indignation because it has ceased to trust the honesty of the Premier. It is a lamentable condition, which we are bound to admit has more justification than the ordinary estimate by one political faction of the turpitude of its opponents. Mr. Balfour, from incapacity or design, will not be straightforward with the country; and his last attitude is the most astonishing of all. It was thought to be clearly understood that no Colonial Conference would be allowed to discuss Colonial Preference until after a General Election. It now appears that Mr. Balfour forgot that a Conference would meet in the

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

ordinary course in 1906; and he declares that the subject of Colonial Preference must be raised at this Conference if the Colonies desire it. It would clearly be a monstrous thing, in view of our acknowledged hostility to food-taxation, that any discussion should take place in which the Colonies were not explicitly and authoritatively told that no scheme could be considered by us which involved food-taxation. But we know that Mr. Balfour would never give such instructions to his delegates. Consequently, the Conference would be "a caucus for influencing the General Election," as Lord Rosebery indignantly declared. And we hope that the Colonies themselves will listen to Lord Rosebery's words of appeal, and will not allow themselves to be made pawns in the mean game of Party policy now being played by the Conservative Leaders. If they were to refuse to attend a Conference till after an election had shown the real opinion of Great Britain, they would deserve the profound gratitude of the democracy of this country.

It is a long time since a public document of twenty pages has caused such a stir as Sir William Butler's Report on "Sales and Refunds to Contractors in South Africa." Those "in the know" are not, of course, surprised to hear that public money was wasted by the million in the months which immediately followed the peace. But, by persistent procrastination, the Government, duly considering, no doubt, that its own reputation would suffer from exposure, has contrived for nearly three years to shield the offenders. Several newspapers, valorously but rashly endeavouring to engage the public enemy, have burnt their fingers at the fires of libel actions. At last the Accountant and Auditor General got on to the track of the offenders, and made some severe comments upon the refusal of the War Office to satisfy him about certain suspicious items and entries. The Public Accounts Committee of the House of Commons took up the chase last March, and requested the Departmental Committee, over which Sir William Butler presides, to report with all speed upon six specific cases, and to fix the responsibility upon the guilty persons. The terms of

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

reference were, "to report upon the responsibility of those concerned." This is exactly what the Butler Report does. Of course, further inquiry is necessary—though it by no means follows that a judge is more likely to get at the facts than an experienced administrator. But, obviously, the time for action has long been overdue. If this be doubted, let the doubter peruse in the Butler Report the definite and unhesitating statements against a number of prominent officers; and let him especially notice that "some millions" were lost because Mr. Balfour's Government failed to send a staff of honest, experienced, and capable men to wind up the war accounts in South Africa, and dispose of surplus stock, above all if it be true (as the Committee feels) "that the losses which the public have suffered through the series of transactions following the war have arisen from causes graver than those of administrative errors, neglect, or omissions." The Committee fixes the main responsibility upon Colonel Morgan, who was appointed to the office of Director of Supplies by Lord Kitchener. But what we wish here to emphasise is the general effect of the document; and this we may best sum up in the language of paragraph 33. "The course of inquiry has been marked by the growth of an increasing sense of suspicion regarding the entire character of the various transactions presented to them [the Committee]. What in earlier stages of inquiry appeared to be isolated instances of error on the part of some particular official who had dealt with the case, assumed, as investigation proceeded, first the aspect of continuous negligence until, as fresh instances arose of such palpable misdoing, the idea of even culpable negligence had to be abandoned, and in its place the impression of cleverly-arranged connivance substituted."

We hope that the Unemployed Workmen Bill will not lose the support of social reformers in the House of Commons on the ground of its somewhat suspicious origin. Threatening Labour Demonstrations, and the appeals of anxious election agents, have been partially responsible for its appearance in the fifth session of a Parliament which has

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

had ample opportunity, as well as a very direct obligation, to deal with the lack of employment which its own policy has aggravated. There are, of course, in some minds, serious objections to the principle of the Bill—objections which, when analysed and distinguished from mere doctrinaire individualism, resolve themselves into a fear of increasing the quantity of casual “in and out” labour. We do not say that this fear is groundless. But the problem of the Unemployed, like all great political problems, consists in balancing the existing evil against the dangers of the proposed remedy. Now our sense of the existing evil has been steadily deepening. We see with growing clearness the complexity of our social structure; we see that the causes which throw the workman out of employment, so far from being such as he himself can control, are such as the most highly-trained observers cannot even explain. The effects of labour-displacement on the home are being revealed by careful investigations; and ignorant pity is changing into shocked and alarmed realisation. At the same time, the precise dangers involved in any scheme of relief by the presence of the unemployable class, are more accurately understood, and therefore less vaguely dreaded. Finally, the work of the Mansion House Committee has indicated, in faint outline, the possibility of some real remedy. All these changes are combining to break down the old-fashioned opposition to any and every attempt to grapple with the problem.

The present Bill gives permanence to the central and local bodies established in London under Mr. Long's scheme of last year. The local body “may endeavour to obtain work” for applicants, or may recommend them to the central body. The central body is to superintend the action of the local bodies, and to establish or aid labour bureaux. It may assist an unemployed person referred to it “by aiding his emigration, or his removal to another area, or by the provision of temporary work, or otherwise.” It may acquire land for the purpose of farm colonies. It may raise a rate of a halfpenny in the £, or, with the Local Government

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

Board's approval, of one penny. The rate, however, may not be spent on providing temporary work, except at a farm colony. The wages paid must be less than those of an unskilled labourer "under ordinary circumstances." Persons assisted by the new bodies are not to lose the franchise. The most serious defect of the Bill is that its application is optional outside London ; and London representatives very properly object to an arrangement which might attract large numbers of unemployed men from the provinces. There are other objections from the point of view of the reformer. The machinery is entirely local. There is no attempt at establishing public works which are desirable for their own sake—land reclamation, afforestation, and the like ; and, until this is done, the evils of improvised relief work are likely to cling to all schemes of assistance to the unemployed. For really adequate remedies we must wait. But the Bill, such as it is, can be effectively amended. A start must be made ; and it can be made with less friction by the Unionist Party than by a Party suspected, as the Ministerialists of the coming Parliament will probably be, of Socialist principles.

The Report of the investigations carried out by the Dundee Social Union, the first part of which has recently been issued, is an important addition to the steadily accumulating mass of exact evidence on social problems. It records a medical inspection of one thousand children taken at random from the elementary schools in Dundee. The methods adopted in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Glasgow, which are described by the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland), were followed here for purposes of precise comparison. The conclusion reached is the "urgent necessity" for the compulsory medical inspection of school children. The Report confirms the conclusion suggested by the Committee on Physical Deterioration, that children of the very poor differ little at birth from the average physical standard of the whole community, but that the difference goes on increasing with the advancing years of boyhood or girlhood. The average weight, for instance, of boys of 13 in these schools, is about nine pounds less than the averages

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

given by Sir Francis Galton's researches. Only 52·2 per cent. of the whole of the children could see to read the standard types at the proper distance. In only 55·15 per cent. was the hearing normal ; 7·47 per cent. were suffering from affections of the heart, and may be seriously and permanently injured by the ordinary physical exercises. The comforting discovery that Nature allows each child at birth an equal chance, involves a corresponding horror at the extent of the preventible degeneration which so rapidly succeeds. The degeneration itself need cause but little surprise, when the conditions of home and employment are borne in mind. We are glad to see that the proposed National League for Physical Education and Improvement is now fairly under weigh, and will, in fact, be holding its inaugural meeting at the Mansion House as these pages appear. The Reports of the Dundee and Ipswich Committees should provide it with useful material.

Nothing can give us a more solemn reminder of the tremendous changes of the last hundred years, than the inevitable comparison of the two Trafalgars. If one of Nelson's seamen had been told, as he went into action, that, exactly a hundred years after the great battle, the heathen Japanese would perform a like feat on board iron ships propelled by steam, and hurling missiles several miles through the air or several hundred yards under water, he would have requested the narrator to continue his remarks at the other end of the ship, for the benefit of the superior powers of endurance and more ample leisure enjoyed by the marines. Even the most intelligent of the officers who commanded at Trafalgar would have smiled to hear so elaborate a version of the vaporous fancies of the mad Radical, Lord Stanhope. The world has indeed so changed as regards the methods of naval war, that we English, who had not fought at sea since these changes took place, sometimes asked ourselves whether training, good gunnery, and good seamanship would really count for as much as they did of old, or whether the nightmare conflicts of the future might not be decided more by sheer chance, or by some

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

new condition, on which we had not reckoned. The battle of Tsiu Shima sets us at ease. The best fleet wins, if possible, a more complete victory than on the day when Nelson grumbled in the cockpit that only eighteen ships were taken. This is good news for us ; for, however much we may be falling behind in military, educational, and commercial efficiency, there is no doubt that we are still the specialists at sea. If England on land is asleep, England at sea is as much awake as ever. It was our navy that the Japanese took for a model. There is little doubt that our seamen deserve this reputation ; there is absolutely no doubt that they enjoy it. And, since Tsiu Shima has shown the embattled nations that the best fleet wins as surely as ever, this reputation of ours for possessing the best fleet will make foreign nations even more afraid of going to war with us than they were in 1900.

But what of the Japanese Alliance ? Are we so sure that in a few years we may not have this formidable new fleet as our rival instead of our friend ? This fear is based on prophecies about Australasia ; but there is one supreme consideration that seems to promise length of days to the Anglo-Japanese *entente*. It is this : Japan is an island Power, and, if she is to have any expansion at all, she must command the sea. Therefore, till she can beat England, she must be England's friend. Now it is quite impossible that she can hope to beat England at sea for a very long time to come. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, of which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Sir Edward Grey have recently spoken in warm and approving terms, will be a stable feature of the coming years. It is only a question of whether it will make for peace or for war. This question will be largely determined by the terms of peace exacted by Japan. If she can make peace now, before she can set up any claim of *uti possidetis* on Vladivostok, then Russia will not be driven to seek revenge in the near future, or be forced desperately to turn for an immediate outlet to the Persian Gulf. If the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is used to bully Russia, to cut her off from all opening on the Pacific,

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

from all trade in Manchuria, and, at the same time, to keep her out of Persia, this war may prove an evil after all. But if we use our friendly influence to save Vladivostok for Russia, to give her equal commercial privileges in Manchuria, and to make the Anglo-Japanese influence in China the surety of free trade for all nations, then this war may bring the greatest blessings to humanity that war ever did bring—long peace in Europe and in Asia, the freedom of the yellow races, and the emancipation of Russia from domestic tyranny.

Meanwhile in Europe the resignation of M. Delcassé has produced a situation full of difficulty and uncertainty. It is too early at present to say how far this implies a reversal of French policy. But, whatever its consequences may be, the event has been received by Englishmen with deep regret. It may also, we hope, help to enforce a much-needed lesson. We have had occasion more than once to protest against the futile denunciation of Germany, in which a portion of the English Press is apt to indulge. It is now becoming clear, that utterances of this kind have had an effect wholly mischievous on the understanding between England and France. They have encouraged the growth of a legend that British policy has aimed at involving France in a quarrel with Germany over Morocco, with a view to facilitating its supposed object, the destruction of the German fleet. Fantastic as this story may seem to Englishmen, it is certain that it has obtained some currency in France; and it must be owned that unfortunate things have been said on this side of the Channel, which could be quoted in support of it. They have not been said, it is true, by any responsible person; but we have to remember that the talk of irresponsible persons in England is repeated and exaggerated on the Continent, just as the talk of irresponsible persons in Germany is repeated and exaggerated in this country. It is a dangerous mistake to imagine that we can cement our friendship with France by proclaiming that Germany is our necessary enemy. In a war with Germany, the risk for Great Britain would be slight, while for France it would be a

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

matter of life and death. The issues at stake for the two nations would be too unequal for such an adventure even to appear attractive in France. Any hint at present that England is contemplating war with Germany, can only serve to revive the old suspicion that England is working for her own ends by fomenting quarrels among the Continental nations. And if England is to play a successful part in European politics, one of the first conditions is, that she should do nothing to justify that suspicion.

The most useful thing that Englishmen can do at this juncture is, to say as little as possible that might tend to complicate the relations between France and Germany. The position of France during the last few months, in regard both to the Russo-Japanese war and to Morocco, has been one of great difficulty; and she has a claim to every consideration on our part. But we shall not give the best proof of our friendship by indulging in abuse of Germany, or by trying to show ourselves more zealous for French prestige than the French themselves. Protestations of this kind are the more needless, because there has never been any doubt in this country as to the value of good relations with France. There is every reason for a close understanding between the Liberal Powers of Western Europe, and none against it. England has, further, a clear obligation towards France as regards Morocco. We have recognised that France has a position in that country corresponding with the position of England in Egypt; we have obtained French support in Egypt on this understanding. The Anglo-French agreement was endorsed by all parties in England; there can be no suggestions from any quarter that we should fail to discharge our part of the bargain. But our concern in Morocco is to support France in maintaining her legitimate interests, and not to decide for her how far those interests extend. The friendship between England and France ought not to stand in the way of a friendly settlement of the questions at issue between France and Germany, nor need it in any way be impaired by such a settlement.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Seldom has so startling a political event as the withdrawal of Norway from the Swedo-Norwegian Union, taken place with so little friction, or been conducted in such a judicial spirit. The action of Norway has been sudden and decisive. But events have proved that her statesmen have the nation behind them, and that they do but give voice to sentiments long and deeply cherished. And their action, painful as it must inevitably be to Swedish loyalty and national pride, has been free from anything in the nature of unnecessary provocation or intended insult. Sweden, on the other hand, has behaved with singular dignity and moderation ; for we decline to regard certain recent threats of military demonstration as anything more than the pardonable bluster of irresponsible patriots. The tone of the thoughtful and responsible classes in Sweden is, we believe, adequately represented by the temperate and generous article of our anonymous contributor, whom we know to have been long a careful student of the question, with exceptional means of information. Though his article was obviously written prior to the developments of the last few days, its main arguments have been unaffected by these happenings. The problem is, to preserve the unity of the spirit in the severance of the body. That grave danger to the independence of the smaller nationalities of Northern Europe is threatened by general as well as by special circumstances, cannot be denied ; and we believe that Norway, no less than Sweden, is prepared to sacrifice her last man in the defence of the home land, consecrated as it is by a thousand years of legend and history. And it by no means follows that the resistance to foreign aggression will be less vigorous under a hearty alliance of sovereign neighbours, than under an irksome union of unequal yokefellows. For, however they may be agreed in resistance to foreign aggression, the Swedes and the Norwegians aim, in their domestic affairs, at wholly different ideals, and are animated by radically different sentiments. The Swede looks to the East, the Norwegian to the West ; and there is the whole world in the difference of attitude. Finally, it is idle to talk, as some persons who

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

ought to have known better have talked, as though the separation were an object lesson in the dangers of Home Rule! One might as well talk of the separation of the British Empire from the Hanoverian Crown (for that is the historical way of looking at the event of 1837) as an illustration of similar dangers. The Union of 1814 was a union of perfectly independent States, with equally full and perfect powers of self-government. And if that Union has proved to be unworkable, some other experiment must be tried. The difficulties of the situation are admittedly great; but the admirable temper of the two nations justifies the hope that a satisfactory solution may be reached at no distant time.

The assassination of M. Delyanni deprives Greece of a statesman whose career was a singularly faithful interpretation of all that is most typical in Greek nationalism. He had no constructive talent. He would come forward on occasion with some demagogue's plan for reducing the taxes and increasing the army at the same time. Whatever has been done to improve the education and foster the economic resources of Greece, was done by the late M. Tricoupis against the bitter opposition of the Delyannists. It was the boast of the murdered Premier, that he represented the native spirit against the European tendencies of his saner rival; and, undoubtedly, this was the secret of the popular confidence which he enjoyed in spite of the disasters of which he was the author. A man who regained all his power and influence after the catastrophe of the Thessalian campaign of 1897, must have had deep roots in the national heart. He represented the reckless idealism of the Greek nature, its sublime self-confidence, its contempt of the barbarian, its splendid capacity for self-sacrifice, its contempt for organisation, and its heroic superiority to facts. The rout at Larissa, so far from depressing the average Greek, almost persuaded him that Greece was a Great Power. Had not France survived her Sedan? It required courage and faith to cherish such illusions.

THE CASE OF SIR ANTONY MACDONNELL

ENGLAND boasts that she has solved the problem of Imperial government. She views with equal pride the two great departments of her Empire—the Colonies to whom she has given Home Rule, and those subject peoples whom she governs through an autocratic Administration.

For Home Rule, she shows the success of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

When the discontent of Canada, and the risk of a disaffected people bordering on the United States, awakened English alarm, Lord Durham was sent out to find the most efficient way of appeasing religious strife and open rebellion. The self-government which he granted, purged of its errors by later efforts, is to be completed this year, when our "Imperial" Cabinet hands over to the Canadians the last Canadian fortification in English hands, and withdraws from Canada the last English soldier.

It would be manifestly impossible to coerce Australia or New Zealand by English soldiers or police; and these colonies have rapidly won full control of their own affairs. It is again this present Imperialist Government which has practically remitted for them the last claim of English supremacy—the right of a Court of Appeal in London.

India, on the other hand, is the type of a dependency ruled without asking the consent of the governed.

Roused by the Indian mutiny to the dangers of an imperfect administration, the Government sent out the ablest men that England could produce, and withdrew them from vexatious interference of Parliament. Officials had to win their credit and reward in India, not at Westminster.

THE CASE OF SIR ANTONY MACDONNELL

The necessity, moreover, of ruling hundreds of millions by a handful of white men, developed a system of government under which native custom must needs be regarded, native religion respected, and native opinion consulted in legislation, to a degree little understood in England.

Nowhere has greater pains been taken to recommend English administration than in Egypt, where, in full view of Europe, not only the fair fame, but the whole position of England in the Mediterranean, lay in question. So England chose her greatest administrator, set Lord Cromer in full and entire authority, quenched all criticism, closed all Party discussion in Parliament, gave him entire control of finance, and left him to win, in his own way, prosperity for Egypt and renown for England.

These instances show how under compulsion of circumstances England can adapt her policy of rule, either by making judicious terms with freedom, or by devising a working administration with a necessary measure of regard to the needs of the country. The present Government, in fact, takes pride in having pushed further than any Government has done before the administrative detachment of the several parts of the Empire—even if for Party purposes the Conservative continues to talk “imperially,” and to fling nicknames of “Little Englander” and the like at the Liberal.

Finally, a Conservative Government, strengthened by an immense majority and by nearly twenty years of power, seems to have conceived in some vague way the idea of extending prosperity and content even to Ireland.

For an English Prime Minister, jealous of the reputation of England for successful administration, cannot forget, as careless English citizens, mainly concerned with their own well-being, can forget, the state of Ireland.

Here was a country which had none of the dignified circumstances of Home Rule, and none of the material profits of a skilled administration. Under the appearance of Parliamentary government, it is in fact ruled by a bureaucracy, in the hands chiefly of aliens, directed in their administration from London, and having neither responsibility to the people, nor sympathy with them. It differs, therefore,

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

from every settled form of government in the British Empire.

It is true that Ireland, an island, remote, and now impoverished and depopulated, does not carry with it an overmastering peril, like that of India in mutiny, Canada in revolt, Australia and South Africa beyond the reach of English armies save at a cost this country will never again accept, or Egypt with every Court in Europe watching for a slip. But is it an accepted fact, that the good of any part of the Empire is only to be won from England by the threat of an extreme peril, and that honour, justice, and humanity have no claim on her without the fiery sword? Why then, Mr. Balfour seems to have thought, may not Ireland have a share, even to put it at the lowest, in the benefits which England protests that it is her unique honour to give, even to the subject peoples under her rule?

“I do not believe,” said Mr. Chamberlain in 1885, “that the great majority of Englishmen have the slightest conception of the system under which this free nation attempts to rule the sister country. It is a system which is founded on the bayonets of 30,000 soldiers, encamped permanently as in a hostile country. It is a system as completely centralised and bureaucratic as that with which Russia governs Poland, or as that which prevailed in Venice under the Austrian rule. An Irishman at this moment cannot move a step—he cannot lift a finger in any parochial, municipal, or educational work, without being confronted with, interfered with, controlled by an English official, appointed by a foreign Government, and without a shade or shadow of representative authority.”

The English, alarmed by a series of famines, by the emigration of half the people of Ireland, and the destitution of the rest, and by a succession of risings and threatening Leagues, followed by imprisonment of 2,500 men in twenty-five years, gave at last to the Irish a mutilated Land Act, with a long series of amending Acts, and a Local Government Act which, after a hundred years of Union with England, did actually allow the people a share, very carefully

THE CASE OF SIR ANTONY MACDONNELL

guarded and supervised, in regulating their rural affairs. Some blemishes of administration, as Mr. Balfour saw, still remained. He viewed a country where Mr. Chamberlain's description still holds good—a country which has the most expensive government in Europe, and the least effective ; a very large military force maintained among a disarmed population ; a so-called police force, the most expensive in the world, and numerous beyond precedent, reason, or necessity—a force which is in fact armed and drilled to serve in aid of the military ; the very militia of the Irish drafted out of the country for their training, and no volunteers allowed to serve ; a perpetual Coercion Law ; a taxation pronounced by a Royal Commission ten years ago, when the taxation was seven and a half millions, to be two and a half millions more than Ireland should be called upon to pay, and of which the weight is by so much the more crushing when the seven and a half millions have now risen to over nine, and the population is fast wasting away—a taxation with practically no reproductive expenditure, and with the less benefit to the English Exchequer the higher it rises ; and all this, that the huge Empire of England may keep down by terror some two or three million disarmed peasants.

In return for these depressing methods, the Prime Minister found no less depressing results. He viewed a land whose people are of splendid physical type, of superior intelligence, and singularly crimeless as compared with other nations, or with England and Scotland ; and he saw that this land is the only country in the civilised world which has steadily gone back in population, trade, and industry for the last sixty years ; where the scale of education is lower than in any European country if we except Turkey, and where the bigotry of three hundred years ago is so rampant and unashamed, that it is easier for a Mahommedan in India to reach the higher learning than for a Roman Catholic in Ireland ; where harbours lie empty, waterways derelict, and trade stagnant ; where the people are crushed out of their own markets for their own produce by a railway system (not indeed of their own making) under which the farmer markets his goods at overwhelming rates,

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

something like 15 to 20 per cent. as against 3 per cent. in the United States and Canada, and perhaps under 6 per cent. on the Continent ; a country which has suffered, in half a century, the loss of over four millions of its people, and which every year now sees its sons and daughters, the young and vigorous, all who need hope, flying from the doomed land at the rate of over 40,000 a year. In the schools of Ireland to-day, the number of children is 53,000 less than it was ten years ago. From Valencia to New York, the Atlantic cable rests on the bones of Irishmen who have died in their flight from English rule. The millions that have reached a land of refuge have refused shelter under the English flag, and in America have shaken off that pledge of despair. Flung destitute on its shores, by their industry have the enormous works of the last fifty years been carried out to the vast benefit of that country ; and Mr. Balfour may have heard that President Roosevelt, in his capacity of Chief of Police in New York, of Governor of New York, of President of the United States, now judges the Irish emigrants to be, on an average, the most valuable citizens that the United States possess.

The Prime Minister may have reflected, too, on the influence these banished Irishmen have claimed, even during the last few months, in carrying out anti-English policy in the American Senate ; it may have occurred to him, now that England is deploring the want of an agricultural population with its invaluable qualities, and that she is looking on every side to replenish her army and her navy, that possibly there is a better use for an Empire to make of the bravest among soldiers and sailors, and the most laborious tillers of the earth, than to throw them into the sea.

Possibly the Prime Minister may have considered, moreover, that he could not attribute the failure of the administration of Ireland to the Catholics, or to the Celtic people. The Protestants have had a free hand in Ireland. Two hundred and fifty years ago, four fifths of the land of Ireland was taken into the hands of Englishmen and Protestants, and one fifth left to the Irish. There must be as much English blood in the country as Irish, even if the common calamity of misrule has reduced the vast crowds of

THE CASE OF SIR ANTONY MACDONNELL

settlers that England has sent over to the poverty and despondency that surrounded them, and driven them too into exile. For centuries the government has been a despotic bureaucratic administration, conducted on purely English lines, by English Protestant officials. Never was that more so, as we shall see later, than to-day. The Emancipation Act has been practically repealed. The Irish and the Catholics are still the Disinherited. As a matter of fact, the opinions and wishes of the Indian native are more consulted and considered in legislation by the Indian Government, than those of the inhabitants of Ireland by the Dublin Boards under alien officials or the Westminster Parliament. The special correspondent of *The Daily Mail*, in May 1905, agrees with Mr. Chamberlain. "Ireland," he writes, "lies under the blight and the shadow of an army of occupation. She is held and ruled by the magic of the bayonet, bullet, and bludgeon. She is a conquered country, held by an overpowering army of occupation. . . . The so-called police in Ireland are in no sense police at all. . . . They are soldiers who are kept to do the work in Ireland that Cossacks do in Russia." Under this system, there is no doubt that we must consider the success or failure of Ireland as a matter that must clearly be charged to the English government of the island.

Some three years ago, Mr. Balfour apparently proposed to consider some of the special drawbacks which her anomalous form of government had laid on Ireland. A Chief Secretary was chosen, who had traditional ties with the Irish people. He was encouraged to appoint an Under Secretary such as had never before been sent to Ireland.

Sir Antony MacDonnell was of Irish birth, and of the religion of three fourths of his fellow-countrymen. He had, by sheer ability, risen to high office in India—Secretary to the Governor of Bengal, Chief Commissioner of Burma, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces of India, Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and member of the Viceroy's Council, and, finally, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces and Oudh. He was the only Lieutenant-Governor on whom the honour was conferred of being made Knight Grand Commander of the Star of

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

India ; and his term of office was extended for a year, in accordance with the prayer of the people of the two Provinces. On his return, he was given the highest reward under the peerage, the position of Privy Councillor.

In Sir Antony's administration, he has held the rule at one time over seventy-five millions of people, had control of vast financial transactions, and land settlements on a prodigious scale ; and everywhere he has been followed by the approbation of the Government and the gratitude of the people. He began his official life by admirable work in connection with the Bengal Tenancy Act, the charter of the Bengal ryots now peaceably tilling the soil. He especially commended his administration to the native chiefs of Oudh by regulations which confirmed their estates in their families ; for which the Talukdars of Oudh showed their appreciation by ordering a statue for Lucknow to his memory. In like manner, he secured the lasting affection of the natives of the North-West Provinces by a tenancy law to protect their rights. In the later years of his administration, he was especially charged with the conduct of two great problems—the Plague and the Famine. So admirable was his management of the extremely complicated and difficult question of plague precautions among native peoples, that he may be said to have almost entirely, for the time, secured the North-West Provinces against plague. In his masterly dealing with the terrible problem of famine, he showed the highest qualities of forethought, administrative ability, and constructive statesmanship.

In the circuit of the Empire, there was probably no man so specially gifted and so highly trained for the task of skilled administration in Ireland. No greater proof of self-forgetfulness and of public spirit could have been given than by his acceptance of the post of Under-Secretary in Dublin. Few men have offered such a signal mark of sincerity as Sir Antony MacDonnell, when he refused the Governorship of Bombay in the hope that he might do good work by continuing in Ireland. The sacrifice which he thus made of the third greatest Governorship in the British Empire was accepted, possibly it may have been urged, by those who at the time needed his services as

THE CASE OF SIR ANTONY MACDONNELL

Under-Secretary. It added at least a new reason for their esteem, and claim on their regard.

The new policy favoured by Mr. Balfour, as we have understood from recent disclosures, was to bring in a Land Act (which was now made necessary even in the landlord's interest by the fall in stocks), to lift Irish education out of the shameful chaos into which it had fallen, to reform a costly and ineffective administration, to make prudent economies through which Irish industries might be extended, to lighten the pressure of the police on Irish life, and, through wise and sympathetic administration, to replace a rule of intimidation and coercion by the willing consent of the people.

Such a scheme, necessary to English interests, might have been supposed a credit to an English statesman. For a moment, Ireland ceased to be the wretched shuttle-cock of Party politics. The Opposition abstained from Irish criticism; and the Government had absolute power. Ireland, for no well-defined reason except the long habit of the Tories to mistake force for law in that country, had been put under coercion—Dublin and nine Irish counties “proclaimed.” The coercion “proclamations” were now withdrawn, the prison doors opened to some thirty men accused of agitation, while certain police reforms were instituted, with the result that, for the next three years, crime steadily decreased, the prisons lay empty of political prisoners, and judges made their circuits with white gloves. The Land Act was passed by Tories and Liberals; and, in spite of flaws which have still to be amended, worked well. The question of Education was then opened, to discuss some possible means of giving the Irish people higher training suited to their needs—a University under lay government, its professors elected without any religious tests; popular in the same way that the four Scotch Universities are popular; and Catholic only in the sense that Trinity and the Queen's College, Belfast, are Protestant, because the bulk of the students who attend them are Protestant.

Then the Orange drum was heard. It had been beating for the last year, low and steady, with discretion. The politicians had wanted to make the King's visit in 1903 a

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

success ; and it was cheap to fill the poor Irish with ready-made promises of motor-transit and redress of grievances and a new era of kindness and prosperity—promises that need only fall into dust with the King's return. The fall in stocks, too, had made a new Land Act very desirable to the landlords, who, under the last Act, had been paid in the equivalent of Consols, a system which had been found very profitable for some years while stocks stood at 112, but was less welcome to the landlords when they fell to 85. Sales had ceased ; and the landlords were in haste to welcome a new financial scheme, by which the Irish Development Grant might be made to come to their aid, and redress the balance of the stock below par. Fully aware of the advantages offered them, and awake to methods well known in Ireland, by which a Land Act can be quietly manipulated by the landlords to their own purposes, they had held opposition in check till their immediate end was gained. Now that they had secured terms generous beyond their hopes, discretion might be thrown away. The seventeen members who formed the extreme Protestant group seem a small number out of 103 elected members for Ireland. But the vigilant seventeen had secured no less than seven offices in the Conservative Government ; and their friends, as we shall see later, had their grip on Irish administration.

With the hint, therefore, that Irish Roman Catholics were to be relieved of the long ignorance imposed on them, and given access to higher learning, the battle phalanx was set in array. At the rattle of the drum, the Chief Secretary suddenly and unexpectedly announced in the House of Commons that, till the Orangemen agreed, there could be no University for the Irish people. With that disappeared all hope of reform in the miserable system of school education.

The first victory was secured.

The next effort of the Government was in the direction of offering some very slight encouragement to Irish primary education. The present writer was in the House of Commons when cheers greeted the promise of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that certain savings in the cost of judges and police should be handed over to the Development Grant, thus giving Ireland, for the first time since the Union, an

THE CASE OF SIR ANTONY MACDONNELL

interest in economy of administration. The Development Grant, it must be explained, was the equivalent given to Ireland for money allotted to English and Scotch Education ; much of this has now been absorbed under the Land Purchase Act to recover payment at par for the landlord, the effect on Irish education being *pro tanto* disastrous.

With this suggestion, the full tide of battle broke. Economy is of no interest to those who live on the taxpayer ; and the gentlemen who lead the Orange Party in the House of Commons have well known, from the time of the Union to the present moment, how to profit by Irish taxes. Nor has the Ulster party ever been desirous of the pacification of Ireland, which would needs put an end to the importance and the profits of the garrison of Ascendency. They have ever raised their ancient protest against every measure of conciliation—against Catholic Emancipation, Tithe Reform, Land Reform, the Church Act, the Ballot, Local Government, Education. For centuries they have repeated, in the very same words, now hundreds of years old and deep-marked with blood, their unchanging axiom, that in the joint system England alone is worthy of consideration, and that, in any point evidently for the benefit and advantage of England, Ireland ought not to be put into the scale, if the measure should cause inconvenience or disaster there. The advantage they have sought indeed, if we would read history, has not been that of England, but of themselves and of their class. We may wonder, even to-day, what Lord Curzon, or Lord Cromer, or Sir Wilfred Laurier, or Mr. Seddon, would think of such stays and props of Empire, whether they would accept as counsellors "Unionists" to carry out any such axiom in their territories, with what feelings Mr. Balfour would watch the experiment, and what the results to the Empire would be. Mr. Chamberlain has (May 11th 1905) recorded his admiration of the work done before the eyes of Europe in "the Egypt of Lord Cromer," as he calls it, which has in a quarter of a century been made "the envy for its prosperity of every country in the world." Hear now Lord Cromer, to whom England owes so deep a debt of gratitude: "The only thing I had in view was the welfare of the Egyptians and the interests of Egypt ; and when a

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

decision happened to be favourable to them and unfavourable to England I never hesitated . . . I knew that the reward would come later on." Is Mr. William Moore an Imperial statesman of this stature? Will he or Mr. Craig repeat these words of the country where they were born? Or will Lord Londonderry and Sir Edward Carson claim a hereditary place as the public enemy that Lord Cromer denounces :—

"Beware of colonists. Beware of those people who go and instal themselves as conquerors in a country which is not their own, and who, under the protection of accommodating officials, have but one idea—namely to make money, and to extort from the natives everything they can".

The power of a dozen Ulster members was felt, and the promised concession of allowing economies in the scandalous waste of Irish administration, and using them for the revival of Irish education, was obediently withdrawn by Mr. Balfour. We have not had long to wait for the answer of Ireland. In America they hope to find education and the means of industry. A banquet was held in Cork this last May for over 200 emigration agents of the Cunard Company, to celebrate the sailing for the United States of 4,000 more young men and women from the dwindling population than had had left in the same months of 1904. *There was no payment, the English chairman told them, the Company made with greater pleasure than the commission to their agents (six shillings on every banished Irish man or woman); and nothing would please them more than to see it doubled next year.*

These things, however, were not the concern of our Ulster "statesmen". They had other business on hand. For open war was now declared on the Under-Secretary as a Roman Catholic. The Orange Party triumphantly demanded in public and private his dismissal. The summer was filled with denunciations as to some nefarious plot alleged of Sir Antony MacDonnell. This distinguished official, they said, had opened the era of Catholic Ascendency by conspiring with a country priest ("a put-up job," said Colonel Saunderson) to chase a Protestant policeman named Anderson

THE CASE OF SIR ANTONY MACDONNELL

from the force on a false charge, because he proposed to marry a Catholic girl—the man being rescued only by the vigilant zeal of the Ulster Protestants from the machinations of this Papist Sir Antony. The third surrender of the Government was astounding to plain men. In the House of Commons, the case, anxiously covered by the Chief Secretary with clouds of vague and meaningless sentences, was left in absolute mystification, Sir Antony MacDonnell thrown to the Orangemen as far as words went, and kept in office as far as deeds went. Close observers of that most humiliating debate could only argue that the Government dared not, by telling the true story, betray what its own share had been in that sordid matter, nor dared it, for Party reasons, face the Orangemen with the lie direct. Its surrender on this occasion was one of deepening dishonour; for its shield was Sir Antony's reputation.

What virtue could be expected to survive the temptation thus laid before the Ulstermen? They had used the Anderson case to proclaim that Sir Antony MacDonnell, being a Roman Catholic, must be driven from the Irish Administration. In the name of religious liberty, they raised the cry the most dishonouring to Man, the cry of spiritual bigotry. They asserted, in and out of Parliament, that since the coming of Sir Antony every Protestant went trembling for his post or livelihood, that they all lay prostrate together under the heel of the Catholic Ascendancy. The Unionist Press in London, which printed these wild speeches, refused to print a brief statement of the facts of the case by which they might have been judged. That statement is simple enough. Three fourths of the Irish people are Catholics. Of twenty-three Lord Lieutenants since 1832, not one has been a Catholic, nor ever can be by law a Catholic, and only three have been Irish—"tame Irish," as the word goes in Ireland of the denationalised Irishman who has shaken off allegiance to his own people. Of thirty Chief Secretaries, almost all English, not one has been a Catholic. It is not necessary that the Chief Secretary or Commander of the Forces should be a Protestant; but no Catholic has ever yet been allowed to fill either of these exalted offices. Of the 173 Irish peers, only fourteen

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

(including Viscount Taaffe of Austria) are Catholics ; and the twenty-eight representative peers in the House of Lords are all free from the taint of the religion of the Irish people, and powerful to drive opinion against it. Out of sixty Privy Councillors in Ireland, four only are Catholics ; and three out of seventeen Judges. Eleven of the sixty Sub-Commissioners are Catholics ; seven out of twenty-one County-Court judges. The head of the police is a Protestant ; one only of thirty-six County Inspectors is a Catholic ; of 170 District Inspectors, only ten are of that faith, and of the sixty-five Resident Magistrates only fifteen are Catholics. If we take the Valuation Offices, the Registration Offices, the Inspectorship of Factories, the Board of Works, the Woods and Forests, the Ordnance Survey, and any and every public department, the Protestants hold three places out of every four, though they are but one fourth of the whole population. The extreme Party, as we have seen, have secured no less than seven offices in the Government ; and their followers and friends hold about ninety per cent. of the higher salaried posts under the Crown in Ireland. This was all the Protestant share of the taxes ! Thus was the Protestant Ascendency trembling and down-trodden ! These facts were known to the Unionists, however carefully they conceal them from the English public ; it was well known too, that Sir Antony MacDonnell had no part in giving appointments, and that most of those made in his years of office had been Protestants.

The study of other services, Post Office, Railways, Banks, and the like, adds deeper significance to these figures. Why indeed should the Protestant minority go to work for the education of the Catholic people of Ireland ? Why shake their own old and rich monopoly ? The campaign of religious bigotry was carried on by the champions of equal rights, fair play, and free opinion, by a series of slanderous accusations against Sir Antony, as in the election of a Roman Catholic doctor at Ballinasloe, or by mysterious hints, too silly to be brought to open day, of Castlebar or of Loughrea.

The fears of the Government emboldened the Party. A new crisis came when the Unionist Lord Dunraven published

THE CASE OF SIR ANTONY MACDONNELL

a scheme, which he declared in the House of Lords to be the work of the Land Act Committee, for increasing the Development Grant, as once promised by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and allowing the Irish to spend it on industrial improvements by a plan of devolution, such as is now proposed for the English Army, and is practised in the Provinces of India. The election of members to control this local expenditure was admitted to a limited degree, while stringent precautions were added to preserve the Union.

Such a scheme might perhaps have been discussed on its merits. Not in Ireland. For the Orangemen it only offered a new occasion for casting Sir Antony MacDonnell out of the country. With the knowledge of his chiefs, he had talked with Lord Dunraven; he had given him some facts and figures; he had criticised the forty-two cumbrous and costly Boards that go to the ruin of Irish administration. All discussion was overwhelmed in a whirl of abuse of the Under-Secretary, and a final effort to overthrow him. The Orange Party raised the cry of "the Empire in Danger," nor stopped to ask what precautions might be added to save an Empire threatened by the possible content and prosperity of the battered Irish people. The hunger and the sickness, depopulation and despair of a country, the flight of its people, the state of a land lying between life and death,—these were of no account to the union of Protestant fanaticism and place-hunting greeds that had sworn to abolish Sir Antony. The Ministry, torn between the danger of losing a few Orange votes, and the public shame of surrendering the Under-Secretary to the bear-baiting of a group of men not supposed to be indispensable, even in England, as statesmen, wavered and staggered; on one day pronounced Sir Antony MacDonnell's conduct to be all that discipline and integrity demanded, on the next to be indefensible, and on the third to be both of them together. With a shout of victory, the Orangemen hailed their first clear victim in Mr. Wyndham, and, in a new attack on the Under-Secretary, claimed to dictate to the Government the names of its civil servants. The Orange drum was beaten again, and a new Chief Secretary, Mr. Long, the stout-hearted English gentleman, has, like any other puppet,

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

danced the ignominious measure to its tune. Almost daily *The Times* reported resolutions sent to him by Orange Lodges, denouncing Sir Antony as a "menace to the loyal and law-abiding inhabitants of Ireland, and an incentive to the lawless and criminal," with "the Anderson atrocity" (as they now call it) held up in witness of his Popish plots. Mr. Long has neither checked these tales nor dismissed Sir Antony. He accepts the "atrocity" resolutions, and banquets with those who send them. Are the Orangemen, with Mr. Long's acquiescence, repeating accusations which he knows to be false, or is he shielding Sir Antony in a course of action repugnant to honour and just administration? Every debate has made what was dark before yet darker, and deepened suspicion of the sinister part played by Government and Orangemen in the Anderson case. It is evidently not the Catholics who fear the unveiling of this strange intrigue. Again and again the Nationalists and Catholics have urgently demanded full enquiry into the matter; the Ulstermen betray extreme anxiety that the facts should not be known; and the Government refuses any information. Mr. Moore threw back in Mr. Wyndham's teeth his contradiction of the charges against the Under-Secretary, and repeated them in the House a few days later with studied bitterness. There was no answer. Mr. Long kept silence before his Orange masters. We await the next stage of this melancholy drama.

All progress has meanwhile ceased in Ireland.

Such a story gives us the measure of Irish administration, its squalid controversies and excited panics, the limitation of its thought and the monotony of its failure. There is nothing in which the narrow, uninformed, parochial temper of Englishmen needs more enlightenment from the broad affairs of the great world, than in the government of Ireland. That island has never been allowed to taste of the benefits of English statesmanship, far less of Imperial wisdom. Ireland has been the martyr of English mediocrity.

Alice Stopford Green

SEPARATION IN FRANCE

IT is only with diffidence that one can venture to deal with such a question as the separation of the Churches from the State in France. Perhaps no question of the internal politics of a country can ever be fully understood by a foreigner in all its aspects; and to a thorough understanding of the problem of Church and State in France, a more exhaustive knowledge of the French people and their history than I can claim is necessary. But a profound sympathy with and admiration for the French people, some considerable personal acquaintance and friendship among them, and a fairly close attention to the trend of their recent political development, may perhaps enable one to get somewhere near the truth of the matter. It is impossible that we should not be interested in what is going on across the Channel. Many of us hope that the cordial relations now happily established between France and England may lead to a yet closer tie between the two great liberal peoples of Europe, whom Gambetta so ardently desired to see united. Nothing is more likely to conduce to that end than that the two peoples should learn to know each other better, and each try to understand the other's point of view. It is with that object, and in that spirit, that the matter under discussion should be approached.

Whatever one may think of the probable or possible results of separation, it can hardly be contested that it is the only way out of the present *impasse*. It is true that Protestants and Jews are not affected by the quarrel between France and the Vatican; but, clearly, all the religious bodies at present State-supported must be treated alike. Whether, if the Concordat were still in working order, it would or would not be the best system, is a question that

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

need not be discussed. For it is plain that, so far as the Catholic Church is concerned, the system has broken down, and is now quite unworkable. That fact it is that makes the task of the few Republican defenders of the *status quo* an impossible one, and accounts for the weakness of their arguments. France has no abler paper than the *Temps*, which represents the Republican opposition to the Separation Bill; yet the arguments of the *Temps* are singularly unconvincing. Day after day it insists on the difficulties surrounding separation—as if every one did not recognise them, and as if every great change were not beset by difficulties. But it has never yet suggested a practical alternative for dealing with the present impossible situation. This is not surprising; for there are only two alternatives to separation, and the *Temps* cannot possibly advocate either. Either the Republic must adopt the methods of Napoleon, and enforce, by imprisonment and other penalties, the observance of the existing law; or it must yield to the demands of the Vatican—repeal the Organic Articles, and surrender the appointment of bishops in everything but name—while continuing to fulfil its own obligations under the Concordat. To oppose separation without supporting one of these alternatives, is to beat the air.

It passes one's comprehension that any one should wish the present chaotic state of affairs to continue, least of all, any one who has the welfare of Catholicism at heart. The Church is simply paralysed; its episcopate is gradually becoming extinct, and ecclesiastical anarchy is within measurable distance. It was only avoided the other day in the diocese of Dijon by the Vatican temporarily restoring to Mgr. Le Nordez the jurisdiction of which it had deprived him, and allowing him to nominate a successor to the Vicars-General whom he had removed without the consent of the Pope. The dioceses of Dijon and Laval have still bishops in the view of the Government, but none in the view of the Pope. The situation, if it were less serious, might suggest a theme for *opera bouffe*. Is it possible to regard the loss of State salaries as too high a price to pay for its termination, and for the restoration to the Catholic Church of freedom of action?

SEPARATION IN FRANCE

For the present Bill does give the Churches freedom of action ; it is a liberating measure for the established religions. The religious bodies not connected with the State are, of course, affected by its general provisions, such as those relating to the formation of Associations for the practice of religion ; but the position of these bodies (which are few and very small) will not be materially altered. The established religions, on the other hand, will be set free from all the restrictions imposed by the Organic Articles and other ecclesiastical statutes, which are repealed *en bloc* ; and, seeing that the established religions have existed for more than a century under these restrictions, many of them of a galling nature, it is hard to understand the assertion that a Bill which removes them all “aims at the destruction of every form of religion,” a formula that one meets with in almost every article against separation.

It is true that the Bill limits the accumulation of capital ; but not to any oppressive extent, and the limitation does not apply to funds expressly assigned to buildings or the purchase of goods of any sort. Moreover, since the limitation is not absolute, but relative to the amount annually spent, it will serve as an incentive to voluntary contributions, and its effect in practice is likely to be good. Its origin is, no doubt, the jealousy with which the French State regards large accumulations of capital in the hands of private corporations. We may not have the same feeling in England ; but it would be rash to say that there will never be any reason for it here, or even that there is certainly none now. And, in any case, allowance must be made for different circumstances ; and the matter must be looked at from the French point of view.

We must regard in the same way the *police de culte* regulations of the Bill, aimed chiefly at the prevention of political propaganda in places of worship, which are also cited as evidence of a desire to destroy religion ; the citation, by the way, involves a strange conception of religion. It may or may not be permissible in the abstract to forbid a minister of religion to distribute election addresses in church, or to denounce the President of the Republic from the pulpit—such questions may be discussed by those who

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

are interested in them—but we must in fairness remember that the French people have had some experience of clerical interference in politics. It must also be remembered, that there is all the difference in the world between a country where all political parties accept the constitution, and a country where one party wishes to overturn it and has more than once tried to do so. We treated the Jacobites with considerably less tenderness than the French Republic has shown towards its implacable enemies; and we maintained penal laws against Catholics for two centuries and a half on account of plots against the State, approved and encouraged indeed by the Catholic authorities, but not by the majority of English Catholics. Ought we, who could not forget for two hundred and fifty years, to be too hard on the French if they remember the *Seize Mai* after twenty-eight, and the Dreyfus affair after five? Let us hear no more of the excuse that the hostility of French Catholics to the Republic has been the result of an anti-clerical policy. History tells a different story; the hostility began long before there had been any chance of anti-clerical action. During the first seven years of the Third Republic, the Conservative party, the party friendly to the Church, was almost continuously in power. We know what use was made of that seven years, and how they culminated in an unsuccessful conspiracy for the overthrow of the Republic, in which the French Church was deeply implicated; they were the cause, and anti-clericalism is the effect. The cause of the hostility was the fact that an Ultramontane is bound by his principles to be hostile, not merely to a Republic but to all popular rights and liberties; just as he is bound to be opposed to toleration in religious matters. And, whatever he may say when he is powerless, he will always act on those principles when he has the power.

Apart from the special circumstances of France, it may reasonably be contended that, since the State gives a minister of religion certain privileges in the exercise of his functions, it has the right to see that those privileges are used only for religious purposes. The State, for instance, protects him even against audible dissent from his utterances in the pulpit, to say nothing of actual inter-

SEPARATION IN FRANCE

ruption, such as a speaker on a public platform has to put up with. If a minister of religion wants to use his pulpit for political purposes, he ought, it may be said, to take the same risks as other political orators. And have not English (or was it Irish?) judges held spiritual intimidation to be an illegal practice at an election, and unseated a member on that ground? In any case, these regulations are no sort of restraint on religious liberty; and, if it be true, as many Catholics declare, that none of the French Catholic clergy wish to preach politics, they can make no difference to any one.

These are the only restrictions of any sort that will be imposed on religious bodies after separation; the restrictions that will be removed are almost innumerable, and many of them very important. Thus, the Catholic Church will recover the right to hold diocesan, provincial, and national synods; the appointment of bishops; the power to organise its members, and to take any sort of action in religious and ecclesiastical affairs. The consent of the State will no longer be required for the opening of a new place of worship; and bishops will be able to go to Rome, or anywhere else, without asking leave of any one. Most of us are ready to sympathise with any genuine victims of persecution; but, in this case, though one hears the victims making a good deal of noise, one fails to find any trace of the persecution.

It need not be asserted that the Bill is perfect; but almost every reasonable objection has been met by the amendments which the Commission and the Government have proposed or accepted, and the measure, as it stands, gives generous terms to the disestablished Churches. They are granted the gratuitous and permanent use of all the church buildings that are public property; in each case (as was anticipated in the last No. of this Review) the cathedral or church is to be granted to the Association designated by Articles IV as the owner of the church furniture and similar property, that is, to the Association representing the religious body that at present uses the building. The use of the church can be withdrawn from the Association to which it has been granted only by a decree of the *Conseil*

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

d'Etat, and in circumstances which the Opposition recognised as entirely reasonable, *e.g.*, if the church remains unused for six consecutive months, if it is diverted from its religious purpose, if the Association is dissolved or ceases to fulfil its objects. The Associations will also have the gratuitous use of the episcopal residences for two years, and of the presbyteries, seminaries, and Protestant theological colleges, for five years, from the date on which the law comes into operation ; at the end of that time, the public authorities that own these buildings will be able to let or sell them to the Associations. The scheme of pensions to the individual ministers of religion now salaried by the State has also been made more generous than was originally proposed. Indeed, throughout the debate on the Bill, the action of the Government, the Commission, and the vast majority of Republicans of all parties has been the best possible reply to the imputation of intolerant motives. The division lists have proved that anti-religious fanatics are in an insignificant minority, *e.g.*, the first paragraph of Article XI, which grants the free use of the churches, was carried by 523 votes against 37. The liberal and tolerant spirit shown by such men as M. Bienvenu Martin, M. Briand, and M. Jaurès has been acknowledged even by their opponents ; and French Republicans have demonstrated, once and for all, the falsity of the charge that they desire to put down religion or persecute Catholics. Let us hope that an example which does honour to the Republic will not be thrown away on its clericalist opponents.

Perhaps, so far as the State is concerned, it may be prophesied, without rashness, that the advantages of separation will considerably outweigh the disadvantages. The State will be freed from the continual friction with Rome, which has resulted from the marriage of incompatibles. Countless occasions, too, of friction between bishops and the Government, and between local ecclesiastical and civil functionaries, will be removed. Moreover, it is probable that the Church will be weakened as a political force, and therefore less formidable as a potential opponent of the State. On the other hand, the State loses very little. The appointment of the bishops has certainly not produced an episcopate attached

SEPARATION IN FRANCE

to the Republic ; most of the French bishops shed their Republican opinions when they assume the mitre ; and the few that have not done so are branded by the majority of their co-religionists, and by the Catholic Press, as black sheep or time-servers. The Concordat has had little restraining influence on political clericalism, which still dominates the Church, though hostility to the Republic is slowly diminishing among the parochial clergy. But the subservient position to which the parochial clergy have been reduced by the Concordat has been the opportunity of the religious Orders which, in France perhaps even more than elsewhere, are, with few exceptions, the back-bone of Ultramontanism and clericalism, and are much more powerful than the bishops, of whom they are mostly independent. This is not because the French Regulars are more able than the secular clergy ; but because a religious Order—at any rate an Order of the highly centralised type with an international organisation under a General—is a sort of ecclesiastical “Trust,” which always plays for its own hand, and stands in much the same relation to the Church as a whole as does a commercial trust to the body politic. The power of the Orders in France has been severely crippled by the Associations Law of 1901, but not so much so as is commonly supposed.

What the effect of separation will be on religion, depends on the religious bodies themselves ; their future is in their own hands. To the Protestants and Jews the change will make no serious difference. Had M. Combes' limitation of the union of Associations to the area of a department been adhered to, their position might have been threatened, as their numbers are too small to make such a system practicable. But, now that the unions may extend over the whole of France, the great majority of Protestants and Jews seem ready to acquiesce in separation without anxiety ; and they are not officially opposing the present Bill. They have only their own adherents to provide for ; and they manage their own affairs without external interference.

The case of the Catholic Church is far more difficult and complicated. In the first place, she is obliged to

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

regard herself as responsible for the vast majority of the French people, although in fact her actual adherents are in a minority. Exact statistics are not available; but I understand that an episcopal estimate of the number of Easter Communions in France puts it at something between four and five millions. If this estimate is at all near the actual figures, this means that (allowing for children) the task before the French Church is the re-conversion of quite five sixths of the French people. The obligation of the "Easter duty" (which may be fulfilled any time between Ash Wednesday and Low Sunday) is so strong in the Catholic Church, that none who wilfully neglects it can be counted as a practising Catholic in any strict sense.

In the second place, the supreme authorities of the French Church are not Frenchmen but Italians, most of whom know nothing about France, and do not consider that any knowledge is necessary to enable them to manage French religious affairs. They rely on the promise of indefectibility to the Church to supply the place of accurate information.

In the third place, the French Church itself is swayed by its lungs rather than its brains. It is dominated, not by those who think and know the most, but by those who make the most noise, and use the most extravagant language about the claims of the Papacy. The term *intellectuel* is, in the French Catholic Press, a term of reproach synonymous with "heretic," "infidel," and other opprobrious epithets, which it applies to any one who, *e.g.*, does not believe in the historical accuracy of the Story of the Flood.

In the fourth place, it is the almost unanimous testimony of intelligent French Catholics, lay or clerical, that practising Catholic laymen are for the most part deeply uninterested in religion. This is a phenomenon not peculiar to France; the education of the Catholic laity is not such as to create an interest in religious matters, and they are discouraged from taking any. Most Catholic schools are now modelled on the Jesuit system, the object of which, as Macaulay justly said, is to carry intellectual culture "just to the point to which it can go without arriving at intellectual emancipation." If those who have been educated in this

SEPARATION IN FRANCE

system do begin to think about their faith, the chances are that they end in giving it up, because they soon discover that the reasons for it with which their teachers have supplied them will not bear investigation. Those who remain Catholics mostly do so because they leave to the clergy a subject that they find so profoundly uninteresting, and swallow their faith like a pill.

When it is said that the future of the religious bodies in France is now in their own hands, it must be understood that, in the case of the Catholic Church, this means, in practice, in the hands of the Roman Curia. The Gallican spirit is certainly not extinct; and there may be an unexpected outburst of independence. But this is not at all likely. There is more material for such an outburst among the younger clergy than among the laity. But, even if any considerable number of priests had the will to resist arbitrary dictation from Rome, they would be helpless without lay support; and it is most unlikely that effective lay support would at present be forthcoming. There is also the hypothesis that Rome, without surrendering her position as supreme court of appeal, should voluntarily allow French Catholics a fairly free hand in the management of their own affairs; but this is wildly improbable. It is always safer to leave out of one's calculations the possibility of a miracle. This being so, one can hardly form any definite conclusions as to the probable future of the French Church, without knowing what policy Rome will adopt; and that of course we do not know. But neither the action of Rome in the past, nor the existing conditions at the Vatican, encourage an optimistic view. Roman policy in regard to the French Church in the nineteenth century was mainly a succession of blunders, which have had deplorable results. *Si monumentum quaeris, circumspice*; the present condition of Catholicism in France is not a credit to the rulers of the Church. It is unnecessary to conclude that the Roman authorities are abnormally stupid or ill-intentioned persons. They are not brilliantly sagacious; and their point of view is distinctly provincial. Moreover, like other people, they are apt to consider their own interests—that is, the interests of the local Roman Church—more important than any others.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

But their failure in France is no more surprising than would be the failure of an attempt to govern Italy in civil affairs by an absolute bureaucracy composed of very ordinary Englishmen seated in London. That failure is not confined to France. "They know so little of the English people," said Newman in 1857, "and have so little tact (as much as I should have in dealing with Sepoys)." Half a century has passed since Newman wrote those words ; but they are, if possible, more true than ever.

As for the existing conditions at the Vatican, they are even less encouraging than the policy of Rome in the past, and certainly do not give ground for much hope that that policy will be altered for the better. The late Pope—who was undoubtedly right and wise in his policy towards the French Republic, and did his best, though unhappily without success, to prevent the cause of French Catholicism being sacrificed to political intrigue—was a cultured and travelled man of the world, who did not imagine that every country could be treated alike on fixed principles. The present Pope is universally respected ; and not the most prejudiced Protestant would venture to question the sincerity of his character or the excellence of his motives. But he has never been out of Italy—hardly outside the Veneto except to Rome—and is understood to know no language but Latin and his own. His knowledge of the world is, therefore, extremely limited ; and, if the hypothesis of a miraculous charisma be excluded, one cannot without grotesque flattery credit His Holiness with the capacity for dealing personally with the problems of a universal Church in every country of the world. His own interests, moreover, seem to lie mainly in the direction of ecclesiastical discipline and ritual details. In more important matters, he must necessarily be at the mercy of his advisers, who have not hitherto shown much tact or knowledge in dealing with France. Cardinal Rampolla, who does understand French questions, has now no voice in the Vatican policy, and has taken care to let that fact be known, by his semi-official disclaimer of the share attributed to him in the famous protest against M. Loubet's visit to Rome.

There is every reason to believe that proposals of the

SEPARATION IN FRANCE

most extreme kind have been made for dealing with the French Church after separation. The idea seems to have been mooted at Rome of ordering French Catholics to refuse the use of the churches unless they are handed over absolutely ; of organising them politically for an aggressive campaign against the Republic ; and even of forbidding them to form Associations—a prohibition which would compel them to choose between disobeying the Pope and defying the law. But, unless and until we are obliged to do so, it would be an insult to the rulers of the Church to suspect them of such criminal folly, and an insult to French Catholics to suppose that they would submit to it. Such a policy could not fail to have results as disastrous for Catholicism in France as were the results of a similar policy in the sixteenth century for Catholicism in England. The sixteenth-century policy was the result of Jesuit and Spanish influences at Rome. The same influences are in the ascendant at Rome now : *absit omen* !

The task of re-organising the Church to meet the altered conditions will give French Catholics quite enough to do and to think about, even if the situation be not complicated by gratuitous difficulties. One of the immediate results of separation will probably be a falling off in the supply of clergy ; indeed, that has already begun, and the bishops are finding considerable difficulty in obtaining candidates for orders. Small as is the salary of a parish priest—it is about £40 a year, apart from fees, offerings for Masses, etc.—a State salary is at all events secure, and it is enough to induce the French peasant to look upon the priesthood as a desirable career for a son. Moreover, the boy destined for the priesthood is taken over by the Church from his entry into the *petit séminaire* at an early age, and costs his parents nothing from that time. The French peasant is a practical person ; and separation will modify his views as to the advantages of the priesthood. But this will not be an un-mixed evil. If it means that the priesthood is recruited in the future by genuine vocations, it will be a distinct advantage. Nevertheless it will for a time, at any rate, be a difficulty.

Many French Catholics also think that the organisation of a system of voluntary finance will not be at all easy.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Hitherto, French Catholics have done extraordinarily little in the way of financial support of religion ; and the enormous sums contributed in England to church building and religious work generally, have no parallel in France. The average Catholic contributes a sou or two to the Sunday collection ; and that is about all. Habits of this kind are hard to change ; but one is inclined to think that French Catholics will be put on their mettle when they are thrown on their own resources. If they care at all about their religion, that must be so. The loss of the State salaries will, in that case, be a good thing for the Church. Without indiscriminately condemning endowments, one is inclined to believe that people value religious privileges much more when they cost them something.

There is, of course, a large number of parishes where a priest could not be supported by local resources ; it remains to be seen whether adequate support will be obtained for a diocesan or national fund, which is the only means of providing for poor parishes under a voluntary system. It is always better that a priest should not be directly dependent on his parishioners for his salary ; the best system is that which exists, I believe, in the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland, where all the parochial contributions go to a central fund from which the clergy are paid. Such a system would, however, probably be objected to in France by the owners of the *châteaux*, who will in many cases chiefly pay the piper, and will want to call the tune. This will perhaps turn out to be one of the greatest disadvantages of separation. The owner of the *château* is not, like the English country gentleman, also the owner of the village ; the peasant proprietors are quite independent of him, and often regard him not so much with dislike as with contempt. The country clergy are far too much under the influence of the *châteaux* already ; and, if they become more so, it will be very bad for the Church. A greater difficulty than that of the poor parishes is the case of the parishes (now very numerous) where scarcely any one goes to church ; in such parishes there will be no contributions at all, except possibly from the *château*, if there is one. Such cases, particularly if the supply of clergy falls off,

SEPARATION IN FRANCE

may be dealt with by grouping two or more parishes, and serving them from a central clergy house. Even now a large number of priests have the care of two parishes; the supply of parochial clergy has for some time been inadequate, although some twenty thousand priests have been absorbed by the religious Orders, and withdrawn from the most important work of the Church.

Yet, in spite of such difficulties as these, which are inseparable from a great change, there is no reason—except the unwisdom of Catholics or their rulers—why that change should not be a benefit to the Church. The French bishops, it is true, seem to think that separation will be inevitably followed by schism; at least they all say so. Time alone will show whether, and how far, their fears are justified. All that one can say, while bowing to their superior knowledge of the internal condition of the French Church, is, that the grounds for those fears are not obvious to any one less well-informed. The liberal Catholics will certainly not leave the Church unless they are forcibly ejected; and there is no sign of anything like an “Old Catholic” movement. Even if there were a schism, past experience suggests that it would be very short-lived; in these days a schism of the “Old Catholic” type has little chance of success—in France perhaps less than anywhere. Nor is any strong movement towards Protestantism likely.

According to some of the bishops, Article VI of the Separation Bill is likely to lead to schism. This article provides that, if more than one Association professing the same religion be formed in the same parish, and a dispute arise as to which is entitled to the property dealt with in Article IV, an appeal shall lie to the *Conseil d'État*. But the *Conseil d'État* will be bound, in giving its decision, by Article IV, which assigns the property to the Association conforming to “the rules of the general organisation” of the religion that it professes; it will have, therefore, only to decide a question of fact. And, even if the unwarrantable assumption be made, that the *Conseil d'État* will defy both law and equity, it is surely unfair to French Catholics to anticipate that the possibility of unjustly acquiring a few

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

pounds' worth of church furniture will prove an incentive to schism in many parishes.

What is really at the bottom of the alarm is, probably, the system of Associations. The striking similarity between the episcopal utterances suggests a *mot d'ordre* from Rome ; and Rome is seriously alarmed at the system of associations—rightly enough from the Vatican point of view. There is not the least reason why the system should lead to schism ; but it does put it in the power of the laity to assert themselves if they wish to do so. Had the Bill merely required the religious bodies to form one organisation for the whole country, the laity might have been deprived of all real power. But the requirement that an Association of at least seven persons must be formed in every parish, may turn out to be a far more effective check on autocratic government than any of the provisions of the Concordat. For the Associations will alone be recognised by the law, and will be the owners of Church property. Such a system must be extremely distasteful to the Vatican ; for the Roman theory is, that all Church property is the absolute property of the Pope, to be dealt with as he pleases ; and the practice is to vest it solely in the bishop of the diocese. This will now be impossible in France ; and it is, perhaps, this fact that inspires the episcopal fears. Should a bishop excommunicate the members of an Association for refusing to yield to his wishes in regard to some disposition of property, the courts would probably hold such an excommunication to be an attempt to interfere by intimidation with the exercise of legal rights, and would confirm the association in the possession of the property. In such a case, separation might lead to schism ; but the wholesome result will be, that the bishop will have to confine himself to persuasion. The bishops have demanded that they alone should have the right of dealing with the property involved in Articles IV and VI ; but M. Briand, agnostic though he be, has never swerved from the healthy principle that Church property belongs, not to the Pope or the bishop, but to the whole of the faithful.

It is not, however, likely that in many parishes the laity will at first show much independence. But the system of

SEPARATION IN FRANCE

Associations is one of the hopes of the future, and may ultimately prove a valuable weapon in the hands of those who wish to relieve the Church of the autocratic *régime* that is stifling her, not only in France but everywhere else. Still, it would be rash to expect any such result in the near future. The French Church has, indeed, a great opportunity, and also the means of turning it to good account, if she were but allowed to do so. Both among the clergy and among the laity, there is a substantial minority of wise, intelligent, and able men. If these men were allowed to come to the front and take the lead, instead of being suppressed; if the interference of the religious Orders could be effectively checked; if all the clergy would consent to give up politics and take to pastoral work (which many of them have sadly neglected); if—above all—Rome would hold her hand and allow free scope for new methods and the candid statement of the results of criticism and historical research—if this ideal state of things were at all within the region of possibility, the Church would be strengthened by separation from the State, and the future would be full of promise. But this is not in the least in the region of possibility; and, as things are at Rome and in France, it would be folly to anticipate it. Far more likely is it, in the circumstances, that the immediate result of separation will be an increase in the power and influence of the extreme Ultramontane Party, and (as a natural consequence) a still further decline in the already weakened hold of the Church on the French people. That is the opinion of nearly all liberal Catholics in France, much as they would like to think otherwise. They are quite prepared for a determined effort to drive out of the Church all who will not submit to the Ultramontane domination; and they dread the formation of a Catholic political Party on the lines of the German Centre, which would still further compromise religion. Some of them think, nevertheless, that it is best that separation should come, since it will but hasten a crisis that they believe to be sooner or later inevitable.

ROBERT DELL

OPTIMISM AND MR. MEREDITH :

A REPLY

IN Mr. Pigou's interesting article in the May Number of the *INDEPENDENT REVIEW*, on the *Optimism of Browning and Meredith*, there was so much with which I agreed, that I feel the more strongly inclined to point out what I conceive to be his misunderstandings. As to Browning, his optimism and its basis are by this time a well-worn theme. But the same cannot yet be said in the case of Mr. Meredith ; the number of "dilettantes" who, according to Mr. Pigou, "find a stable view of the universe in his writings," is still limited. As I must suppose myself to be one of the unfortunates to whom he refers, I take up the cudgels,—if a "dilettante" can be pictured wielding weapons so formidable. Unfortunately, the duel takes place in a position in which both combatants are exposed to the gentle shafts of the comic spirit ; for it is not a dead body over which we are contending. The situation recalls the conditions of Waterloo controversy previous to the year 1852, when such literature could only peep cautiously out on to bookstalls in the threatening shadow of a great nose, and the disputants had to lift up their voices in the awful and sardonic silence of a certain noble Duke, who had his own sense of humour in these matters. It is difficult to say whether it is more amusing to be instructed by a younger generation as to what you did on a particular day of battle, or as to what you have meant to say all your life long.

Mr. Pigou, having decided that the author of *Richard Feverel* and *The Ballad of Past Meridian* is an "optimist," appears to assume, as a consequence of this piece of

OPTIMISM AND MR. MEREDITH

terminology, that Meredithianism involves a belief that "evil will ultimately be overcome and disappear." Mr. Meredith has never said so. He has said that he expects gradual improvement, and that, in any case, as the universe is all we shall get, it is wise to make the best of it. To say that you are going to make the best of things as they are, is completely different from saying that things are or ever will be all that one could wish. Now this is the essential difference between the optimism of Meredith and that of Browning. One is the optimism of temperament, the other of belief,—and between these two there is a gulf of difference. The use of the same vague word "optimism" for a temperamental attitude and for a cosmological creed, is misleading; and it seems partly to have misled Mr. Pigou. The optimism of belief often (though not always, not, for instance, in the case of Browning) results from pessimism of temperament, when a physical or psychical want of joy and courage necessitates the falling back on metaphysical or religious opiates. The pessimist by nature often becomes, by reason of his very sufferings, the optimist in creed; while the frank acceptance of the fact of an imperfect process of evolution, of mingled good and bad, is more easy and natural to a nature full to the brim with strength and ardour and joy, like that of Mr. Meredith, or to the stern and disciplined soldiers of duty, like Huxley and Carlyle.

It is essential to grasp this difference between the optimism of creed and of temperament. It is only in the latter sense that Mr. Meredith is an optimist; in his conception of the way in which the universe is managed, he is largely agnostic.

"What is dumb,
We question not, nor ask
The silent to give sound,
The hidden to unmask,
The distant to draw near."¹

We should not, he says, stake our happiness on the solution of ultimate questions, which cannot get an answer. In

¹ Woodland Peace. *Poems*, II. p. 134.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

so far as he makes statements at all, Mr. Meredith takes the common-sense middle position, which is far from either optimism or pessimism. But the body of his ethical doctrine is larger and more important than his addition to cosmological thought; and as his ethic is not as dour as Carlyle's, he has been labelled an optimist. He preaches acceptance and joy as a part of duty. He has written, as it were, a new edition of *Sartor*, with joy superadded. With him, the flower blooms on the rock. But, even in his ethic, the rock is always there, under the flower.

“He who has looked upon Earth,
Deeper than flower and fruit,
Losing some hue of his mirth,
As the tree striking rock at the root,
Unto him shall the marvellous tale
Of Callistes more humanly come,
With a touch on the breast, than a hail
From the markets that hum.”¹

And because he is an optimist (to a certain limited extent) in his ethic and in his temperament, people seem therefore to expect that Mr. Meredith should show them a more pleasant cosmology than that of evolution and the law of life through death, and they indignantly denounce him as an impostor when none is forthcoming. We are so accustomed to-day to look for creeds, for short cuts to contentment by some other route than our own conduct and courage, that we will not believe that a man can teach us to live healthy lives, unless he has some patent medicine in his pocket. But, in fact, there is no Morrison's pill to enable us to digest the universe. We must trust, not to drugs, but to exercise, clean living, and cheerfulness.

I think it will be best to state Mr. Pigou's case in his own words. He accuses Mr. Meredith of pointing mankind to the far distant future of the race, as the sole and sufficient ground of optimism.

“It is among a far-off perfected humanity, known to

¹ Day of the Daughter of Hades. *Poems*, I. p. 90.

OPTIMISM AND MR. MEREDITH

us only through imagination, that this blossom, in whose fragrance we shall not share, will come to flower.

‘The young generation ! Ah, there is the child
Of our souls down the Ages ! to bleed for it,
proof
That souls we have.’

“Our private end will not be realised, our rational self-interest not satisfied. The good of Meredith’s optimism is exclusively *others’* good.

“The general drift of this conception is, of course, sufficiently obvious. It remains, however, a serious question, by what process of thought the general good in the future can be regarded as complete, if there is involved in it any loss of private good. If self-regarding desires are considered, within limits, to be reasonable, is the future perfection of the universe compatible with a doctrine of individual annihilation, by which the satisfaction of an enormous number of them is absolutely precluded ? Is it reasonable, in short, to speak of a destined disappearance of evil, and, at the same time, to postulate the everlasting continuance of this obviously evil fact ?”¹

There is the case against Mr. Meredith’s reading of life. In reply, I have three contentions to urge. First, that he never prophesies “complete” general good in the future, but only large amelioration. Secondly, that the care for the future generations ought to be a more predominant element in ethics and in the motives of life, and needs more definite expression by the poetic, religious, and artistic communities, than it usually obtains in those quarters. Thirdly, that Mr. Meredith has a great deal to say about the present as well as about the future, about self as well as about others, about joy here and now.

¹ INDEPENDENT REVIEW. May 1905, p. 99.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

First, then, Mr. Meredith has never said that "the general good in the future" is going to be "complete," nor has he ever spoken of a "destined disappearance of evil," but only of its probable diminution, and the gradual increase of good on this planet in the course of long ages. Certainly there is no absolute proof that any such amelioration will take place; but Mr. Meredith's conviction is derived from a general view of history and anthropology. Thus far, at any rate, this world has witnessed the "growth of man in grisly brute." In so small a period of time as the last 5,000 years, the growth has been so rapid that we may well entertain high hopes for the future, even if the next step in advance seems, now as ever, a step into a dubious night.

"He felt the far advance in looking back;
Thence trust in his foot forward through the storm."¹

In Mr. Meredith's last volume, *The Reading of Life*, Mr. Pigou will find this view of man's progress set out at greater length than elsewhere. Such a poem as *The Test of Manhood* in that volume,—an historical survey of the advance of the race from the point of view of the development of the individual,—or the poem in which *Foresight and Patience* discuss our latter-day troubles, makes it clear that Mr. Meredith does not think progress regular, or universal, or destined ever to arrive at perfection. The idea of a definite term set to evolution, a golden age, a heaven on earth or in the sky, a final goal, a consummation either in or out of time—all these ideas are wholly alien from Mr. Meredith's philosophy. "Spirit raves not for a goal," he says,² thereby throwing down the gauntlet to most religious teachers of the past.

"Rich labour is the struggle to be wise,
While we make sure the struggle cannot cease."³

And so, in the progress of man, both of the race and of the individual,—

¹ *Reading of Life*. (1901.) p. 33.

² *A Faith on Trial*. *Poems*, II. p. 159.

³ *Poems*, I. p. 194.

OPTIMISM AND MR. MEREDITH

“ This gift of penetration and embrace,
His prize from tidal battles lost or won,
Reveals the scheme to animate his race :
How that it is a warfare but begun ;
Unending ; with no power to interpose ;
No prayer, save for a strength to keep his ground,
Heard of the Highest ; never battle's close,
The victory complete and victor crowned ;
Nor solace in defeat, save from that sense
Of strength well spent, which is the strength renewed.
In manhood must he find his competence ;
In his clear mind the spiritual food ;
God being there while he his fight maintains ;
Throughout his mind the Master Mind being there,
While he rejects the suicide despair ;
Accepts the spur of explicable pains ;
Obedient to Nature, not her slave.

And that way seems he bound ; that way the road,
With his dark-lantern mind, unled, alone,
Wearifully through forest-tracts unsown,
He travels, urged by some internal goad.

Dares he behold the thing he is, what thing
He would become is in his mind its child ;
Astir, demanding birth to light and wing ;
For battle prompt, by pleasure unbeguiled.
So moves he forth in faith, if he has made
His mind God's temple, dedicate to truth.
Earth's nourishing delights, no more gainsaid,
He tastes, as doth the bridegroom rich in youth.
Then knows he love, that beckons and controls ;
The star of sky upon his footway cast ;
Then match in him who holds his tempters fast,
The body's love and mind's, whereof the soul's.
Then Earth her man for woman finds at last,
To speed the pair unto her goal of goals.”¹

This is not the doctrine of perfectibility. To Mr. Meredith, Earth's “ goal of goals ” is not a millennium in the

¹ The Test of Manhood. *A Reading of Life*. (1901.) pp. 35-6, 40-1.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

distant future, but the satisfactory lives of the best men and women in each passing generation. There is no Kingdom of God promised for the year 2,000,000, before which there will be no satisfaction, and after which no ground for complaint. Far otherwise. There is an irregular advance up the path of progress, along whose banks the joys and goods are strewn, open to be gathered by each wayfarer as he forces his way along, toiling, suffering, living, rejoicing. Each is to help himself, and also to clear a foot of pathway for his companions, and for those who are to follow. Surely this is not only common sense, but true religion.

That, then, is the first point. Mr. Meredith never promises a static Kingdom of God on earth. His ideas are those of the evolutionist, but not of the believer in perfectibility. His good is spread over time, not massed at the far end of it.

Secondly, if Mr. Meredith has indeed exaggerated the importance of considering future generations (which I very much doubt), he has only been filling up a void left by too many others. The consideration of future generations ought to hold a larger place than it does in religion and poetry. It has been left as the special province of dry utilitarians, the "motive grinders" against whose excellence we all instinctively rebel; our duty to the future that we shall not see, is associated in our minds with Mill rather than with Wordsworth, with Herbert Spencer rather than with Dante. This is not as it should be; and Mr. Meredith, in his capacity of poet and poetic novelist, has done what he could to apply a remedy. To save one's own soul was the aim of life as preached by old religion; it followed that to develop one's own soul has become the aim preached by modern culture. The old monastic ideal that disregarded the interest, or even the existence, of future generations, has its modern counter-part in the cult of self-development as a sufficient end in life; in the decreasing birth-rate of Mayfair and Greater Mayfair; in Roosevelt weeping for the next generation of English-Americans, because they are not.

The enormous number of persons who live, not by their own labour but by holding shares or ground-rents, is, as Mr.

OPTIMISM AND MR. MEREDITH

Wells pointed out in *Anticipations*, the dominating feature in this age, particularly since the professional and wage-earning classes in England take the fashion of their dress, houses, meals, morals, literature, and philosophy, from their "superiors,"—that is to say from the idle rich. Those who live on inherited wealth are vastly more numerous than the old landed aristocracies, and are more free from the obligation of local or territorial duties. The shareholder of to-day has more freedom for good or evil than any large class ever had before in the known history of the world. Not being rooted to any one place, he need not be subject to any public opinion, but that of the people with whom he chooses to travel or to live. This irresponsible class contains much of the worst and some of the best, besides much of the most middling elements in modern society. It includes pleasure-seekers and philanthropists, Cabinet Ministers and gamblers, literary men and army officers, Roman Catholic converts, spiritualists, and dilettantes who believe in Meredith. Now the cult of mere self-development is particularly dangerous to the members of this share-holding class, whence the rest of a snobbish society derives so many of its supposed needs and ideals. Since the man who holds enough shares or ground-rents has nothing to force him to take part in the world's work, to strive and suffer for future generations, it follows that any such person who thinks that future generations are not his affair, will aim at nothing but pleasure and self-development (good or bad according to the individual case). If more members of this class were studying Meredith's altruism instead of Omar Khayyám's hedonistic egoism, they would do well. But I do not think that there need be much fear that the *Reading of Life* will displace the insinuating Persian on many drawing-room tables. It is rather to the type of character bred in professions, to the wage-earners in grip with the facts of life, that a philosophy as severe as Carlyle's, or Huxley's, or Mr. Meredith's, makes an effective appeal. The more the pity, therefore, that Mr. Meredith's novels deal chiefly with the lives of the leisured classes, and that his poems require at first a

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

careful study, for which busy people are often unwilling to give time.

The society for which its individual members feel no duty to provide after their death, will not flourish. The life in which the sense of duty to others has been completely replaced by the doctrine of self-salvation or self-culture, will develop in queer directions. Mr. Meredith thinks that the irresponsible rich do not take as large a part as they should take in the various activities that regard the coming generations,—the rearing of families, social reform, artistic creation, the endowment of educational and other public institutions, and the ordinary economic production on which society rests.

All these things—

“Keep the young generations in hail
And bequeath them no tumbled house!”¹

Probably Mr. Pigou, who is by no means one of the unemployed or unemployable, largely agrees with this. But if so, he ought to be the more thankful to Mr. Meredith for putting the consideration of the future into its proper place, in the fore-front of the motives guiding the present.

I now come to my third point, namely, that Mr. Meredith has a great deal to say about self-development as well as about self-sacrifice, about joy for us here and now. I have already incidentally touched on this subject, in discussing the quotations given above from the *Test of Manhood*.

I am astonished that Mr. Pigou should say,—“the good of Meredith’s optimism is exclusively *others’* good.” To use the word “exclusively” is always dangerous in speaking of what poets have said; and in this case it is to ignore not the least characteristic half of Mr. Meredith’s writings. Are we to regard the author of *Love in the Valley* and the *Hymn to Colour*, of *Diana* and *Harry Richmond*, as the man who denies all joy on Earth, all good in life save the somewhat melancholy satisfaction of helping the babe unborn? It is a paradox

¹ The Empty Purse. *Poems*, II. p. 200.

OPTIMISM AND MR. MEREDITH

of such dimensions, that Mr. Pigou should have enlisted the services of a competent specialist like Mr. Chesterton, before attempting to launch a ship of such heavy burden on the sea of public credulity. It is true that Mr. Meredith wages metaphorical war on the "dragon of self"; but it is not war to the knife. He has a sympathetic acquaintance with the creature and his ways, and shows him a wise, fatherly tenderness, paring his claws, taming, civilising, and ennobling his qualities. But any attempt to *kill* him, Mr. Meredith considers an attempt at murder which is invariably unsuccessful. Rather—

"Him shall change, transforming late
Wonderously renovate."¹

For the attempt to get rid of self altogether involves asceticism, against which Mr. Meredith keeps an armed watch, more constant than that of any other moralist. "Nature will force her way, and if you try to stifle her by drowning, she comes up, not the fairest part of her uppermost!" (*Diana*. Chap. I.) His position has two fronts, against asceticism and complete self-sacrifice on the one hand, and against mere seeking for happiness and self-development on the other. Mr. Pigou has treated his position as if it had only one front.

Mr. Meredith, both as poet and as novelist, is the prophet of the joy and beauty of Earth. But he does not, like Fra Angelico and Burne-Jones, seek beauty and joy by shutting out all ugly and painful realities from his studio. He goes down, like Zola, Ibsen, or Tolstoy, into the dark places; but, unlike them, he does not live there always, and he carries his lamp with him.

"You must love the light so well,
That no darkness will seem fell":²

This is a hard saying; but so are all the sayings that are really of use. In narrative and dramatic quality, his novels sometimes yield to *Anna Karenin*; but the quality in which they invariably surpass, is the power to make the reader feel the poetry and beauty and joy of life, even in the most

¹ Woods of Westermains. *Poems*, I. p. 80-1.

² *Ibid.* p. 79.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

ordinary or in the most tragic moments. One would never deny value to the life of any one of his characters, even of the dullest or the most unfortunate. When Richard Feverel is in the act of returning to take his part in the most heart-rending tragedy in modern fiction, he learns in the thunder-storm on the Rhenish hillside the full meaning and joy of the Earth he treads, and of the life he is about to fling wantonly to ruin. We feel, as we read Mr. Meredith's best novels, that if life is without interest or joy to us, it must be because we ourselves are dull or cowardly. Yet, for many people, in the circumstances in which they live, it is no easy task to be rid of *ennui* and of fear. But they find help in exhortation inspired by genius, and in the lively portraiture of great examples coloured with all the glow of poetry. Such are the means by which, under a thousand different forms, religion, art, and literature come to the rescue of humanity.

Life is always good and bad, though the ingredients are mixed in very different proportions for different people. But each man has the choice whether to fix the eyes of his soul on the good part or on the bad. Mr. Meredith's advice is to examine evil closely enough to learn its nature and its remedies ; but, for the rest, to say, like Nature in the woods,

“I raise my head to aspects fair,
From foul I turn away.”¹

We should study to find out evil in order to detect and fight it, and not, as so many think, in order to contemplate it. But we should study to find out good, in order to fill our thoughts therewith. It is the food of the spirit ; but it needs to be sought for, and even the appetite for it sometimes needs cultivation. If every one took half as much trouble in finding out and enjoying the good, as modern pessimists take in digging up and gloating over the bad, we should be a happier and better race.

Mr. Meredith's “faith,” then, consists in two things.

¹ Woodland Peace. *Poems*, II. p. 134.

OPTIMISM AND MR. MEREDITH

First in the "acceptance" of the rough, cruel methods of evolution, the "sacrifice" to which Nature "prompts her best," or imposes on them when "she reaps them as the sower reaps." This must be accepted, not because it is good, but because it is unalterable. The second part of his faith lies in the cultivation of the power of joy, the duty not to let the good escape us while we sit mourning over the evil. The two parts of this ideal hang together. Joy strengthens us to accept evil; and the frank acceptance of evil alone sets the mind free to realise joy.

This faith finds its most perfect allegory in the great narrative poem *The Day of the Daughter of Hades*. To tell the story in prose, to quote the passages that give the moral instead of those which give the colour, and to cut pieces out of a perfect whole, is an injustice to the poem, but one which I cannot here avoid. Skiageneia, daughter of Persephone and Pluto, has her mother's yearning for sun and sky and the fruitful earth. She comes in the chariot that bears her mother up to the light once every year; she slips out of the car while Persephone is greeting and embracing Demeter, and spends a stolen day in company with the young poet Callistes, who meets her by chance at dawn in the vale of Enna. In the evening, she is certain to be snatched away to darkness in the chariot of her angry sire. It is her one day on Earth, her one short day of life. But she does not spend it in complaining because it is not longer. She spends it in satisfying her thirst for sun and earth,

"Then said she, quick as the cries
Of the rainy cranes: Light! Light!
And Helios rose in her eyes."

· · · · ·
"For hours in track of the plough
And the pruning knife she stepped,"

—and then up to the forest and the mountain top. Late in the afternoon of her day of pure joy, is heard at last, though still far distant,

"A noise of the hollow ground."

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

"Darkness : he : he in person," is coming to fetch her home.

"It was not the pines, or the rout
Oft heard from mid-forest in chase,
But the long muffled roar of a shout
Subterranean. Sharp grew her face.
She rose, yet not moved by affright ;
'Twas rather good haste to use
Her holiday of delight
In the beams of the God of the Muse."

Finally, when evening falls, and the black chariot at last is upon them—

"The sigh of our life she seemed,
The bliss of it clothing in woe,
Frailer than flower when the round
Of the sickle encircles it : strong
To tell of the things profound,
Our inmost uttering song,
Unspoken. So stood she awhile,
In the gloom of the terror a-field,
And the silence about her smile
Said more than of tongue is revealed.
I have breathed : I have gazed : I have been :
It said : and not joyously shone
The remembrance of light through the screen
Of a face that seemed shadow and stone." ¹

If, for each of us as an individual, things have an end, it is the more reason why we should make the best of them now, and prepare the way for others to enjoy them after we are gone. To grasp joy with one hand, and with the other to keep a grip on the savage facts of necessity, lest they come in on us and swallow us, is the hard double task of the human race. Unfortunately, the two parts are often performed by two different sorts of people. But such specialists are not well-proportioned men, though they are usually the men who have most effect, especially on literature. Genius is too often the result of one-sided development, and imposes insane doctrines, first of one kind, then of another, upon the

¹ *Poems*, I. pp. 101, 105-6.

OPTIMISM AND MR. MEREDITH

world, while the sane middle position is represented by mediocrity of power and of art. Hence the rarity and value of Mr. Meredith's imaginative genius ; for his "harmonies always are sane."

Mr. Pigou has a just cause of complaint against "optimists," if by that term he means people who think the world is all it should be. There is not individual justice for all ; to some life is hardly worth living, if they can take no pride in themselves as servants of God, or as instruments for the preservation of society and the race. But, on the whole and to most people, it is worth living, and it will become so in ever higher degree and to increasing numbers, if morality and consideration of the coming generations prevail. Even now life is exceedingly good to many, some of whom are duly grateful, while others keep their eyes firmly shut to its goodness. The fact (if so be it is a fact) that individual life ends, does not empty it of value while it lasts. The probability that this planet and the precious cargo it bears will some day suffer shipwreck in the heavens, or freeze out its crew and float derelict, does not empty the history of the world of meaning while it lasts. And life will never die ; there are other lives, other planets than ours, sown thick in endless space.

And if, when all this is said, Mr. Pigou still has just cause of complaint, he must make it, not against Mr. Meredith, but against the universe. Only, let him remember that it is no use to spend much time in complaining against our obdurate old mother ; for, whatever she is going to do, she has made up her mind about it, and suffers from confirmed deafness.

But if there is just cause of complaint, is there not also just cause of rejoicing ? Why should we take the good for granted, and only remark on the evil ? Some people, among whom I do not include Mr. Pigou, seem to be—consciously or unconsciously—under the domination of two false ideals, which combine to make life seem to them a barren thing. The first fallacy is, that life has no value except from the point of view of self ; the second, that it is as good to meditate on the ills of life as to rejoice over its joys. Mr. Meredith thinks otherwise. He urges us to feel that we

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

are parts of a whole ; that the value of life depends on our serviceableness to comrades and successors, no less than on our own welfare. To be used as a stepping-stone is, perhaps, a form of honour too passive to have much attraction ; but we must make the honour of service an active virtue, and say that to hand on the torch, and to brighten the flame as we run with it, is no unworthy aim. As we run that course, we grow more heartily alive ; and our whole being, that is compounded of blood, brain, and spirit, is in fit condition to rejoice, and itself to taste

“Pleasures that through blood run sane,
Quickening spirit from the brain.”¹

The essence of a religion is not a creed, but an attitude to life ; and Mr. Meredith's attitude to life is a right one. A wary but cheerful and benevolent Odysseus, he steers us “compact of what we are, between the ascetic rocks and the sensual whirlpools”² ; he can listen unbound to every song of the Sirens, enraptured, but resolute by the rudder ; and the one-eyed Polyphemus of Despair is left cheated and shouting after the white track of his departing vessel.

G. M. TREVELYAN

¹ Woods of Westermains. *Poems*, I. p. 84.

² *Diana*. Chap. XXXVII.

A NEW WAY WITH THE LORDS

A LIBERAL Government, pursuing a policy of social reform, will encounter a new obstacle in the changed composition of the House of Lords. Before 1885, the minority of Liberal peers was always large enough to secure consideration for the measures of a Liberal Government, and, by tactful management and compromise, to obtain the assent of the Second Chamber to most Bills firmly presented, even though these might contain matter unfavourable to the interests or feelings of the permanent Conservative majority.

Since 1885, that permanent Conservative majority, formerly small for ordinary purposes of legislative work, has become overwhelming in its magnitude ; its sympathy and co-operation with the Conservative party in the House of Commons have become close and habitual ; its temper and attitude towards a Liberal Government will be one of open and general hostility upon all issues in which any of the vested interests which it represents are prejudicially involved.

This is rightly to be regarded as a new constitutional situation. The quiescence of the House of Lords during two decades of Conservative government, interrupted by one short interval of a weak Liberal Administration, cannot be taken to imply a disposition on the part of the Second Chamber to surrender any right of legislation it possesses, or to defer to the will of the people, expressed, however plainly, in the return of a majority of Liberal members to the lower legislative House.

The House of Lords, as at present constituted, may be expected to reject, mutilate, or delay, each one of those

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

measures which a Liberal Government, in obedience to popular needs and desires, frames and presents for its assent. It is idle to suppose that any Bill, dealing in a satisfactory way with education, Licensing, Home Rule, or with land tenure, will be allowed to be placed upon the statute book, except at a sacrifice of all or much that is vital to its value as a measure of reform.

It must be plainly recognised that, during the last two generations, the social-economic character of the House of Lords has undergone a transformation, which may be roughly summarised by saying, that it is no longer merely a House of landlords, but a composite household of all the vested interests, in land, industrial and commercial capital, the legal and clerical professions, and last, not least, finance. A Liberal Government can no longer (except perhaps for the single purpose of defending Free Trade) divide the organised and influential interests of the country, enlisting some of them upon its side: a consolidation of these interests within the Conservative Party has taken place, so strong, that any Liberal measure deemed prejudicial to the Church, the liquor trade, landlords, or financiers, is met by the united opposition of all the organised interests, an opposition which, when a Liberal majority sits in the Commons, will certainly find full and effective expression in the legicidal power of the Lords.

The House of Lords is no longer an obstacle to be overcome: it is an impenetrable barrier to radical reforms.

How can a Liberal Government, following the line of least resistance, remove this barrier? Any effective measure of constitutional reform must be supported by a powerful consensus of public opinion. Now the simple method of ending the power of the Lords by manufacturing sufficient Liberal peers to force a suicidal measure through the House would not receive general support. The judgment of the people cannot be said to favour legislation by a single House. The adverse feeling is attributable, partly to general caution, the reluctance to make legislation a too easy task, or to entrust it to a single expression of the will of any single body; partly to the feeling that the House of Commons is ceasing to be a free deliberative body, and

A NEW WAY WITH THE LORDS

is becoming a vehicle for the formal register of the will of the Ministry or, more properly, of the Cabinet.

The absorption of the legislative and deliberative powers of Parliament by a small self-elected group of Ministers, is rightly regarded as involving a diminution of the popular power embodied in representative institutions. Merely to destroy the veto of the House of Lords would be, therefore, not so much to increase the power of the House of Commons, as to establish the Cabinet in the position of an unchecked oligarchy.

A destruction or abridgment of the power of the House of Lords will not proceed from any general desire for constitutional reform, or even from a wish to remove the hereditary principle of government; it will be animated by a desire to make the popular will prevail more surely and more easily in definite concrete acts of policy, while at the same time preserving some check upon the hasty or high-handed acts of Ministers dominant in the elected House.

A suspensory veto, though serving to delay the completion of rash measures, and to furnish time for the pressure of public opinion to operate, would not stop Ministers from carrying through Parliament important measures for which they had received no mandate, and which might be opposed to the wishes and interests of the majority of electors. The problem is, to build up new constitutional checks upon the obstructive power at present wielded by the hereditary House, and the excessive power of a Cabinet withdrawn from all adequate control by the people or their representatives.

In the case of a Conservative Government, the House of Lords provides no check; in the case of a Liberal Government it provides an excessive check upon the actions of Ministers.

To restore to the people some measure of that control over legislation which it has lost by the decline of the liberty and influence of the elected House, to remove the obstructive power of the House of Lords, while at the same time securing for legislation the assistance of a genuine Senate vested with advisory powers, whose influence is based

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

upon moral authority alone—this seems to be the line of constitutional reform best adapted to the purposes of a progressive democracy. Now it is manifestly impracticable to seek to restore directly to the House of Commons, by any Act or series of Acts, the power which it has lost ; for this loss represents a process of decay, due to an accumulation of causes. Even were some large measure of devolution to abate that congestion of public business which has signally contributed to Ministerial control, the supremacy of the Cabinet is too firmly planted in the rules of procedure, and the exigencies of the orderly conduct of business, to be shaken.

The maintenance of genuine popular control, the real participation of the electorate in acts of legislation, can only be secured by setting up some new procedure which shall enable the electorate to check, by a direct expression of assent or dissent, concrete legislative proposals. It is an implicit assumption of our representative government, that every important act of policy rests upon the express or tacit consent of the majority of the electors. Now, under the conditions of our electoral system, there is no means of testing the validity of this assumption, excepting the case of some single issue which at the time of the election may be of paramount interest in the public mind. In the case of all other measures of legislation, the assumption of popular support or assent remains highly disputable ; in fact, the only serious defence of the rejection or mutilation of Liberal Bills by the House of Lords is based upon a denial of the proved existence of popular support for the Bills in question.

It seems eminently reasonable that some machinery for testing in important cases the validity of this assumption of representative government should be provided, in order to give just confidence to the representative Chamber in the pursuance of its legislative duties, and to displace the complaisant or obstructive conduct of a House which has even less knowledge of the actual condition of the electoral mind upon a disputed issue than the House of Commons.

This proposal for a Referendum might take the following shape. It might be provided that when a Bill sent up to

A NEW WAY WITH THE LORDS

the House of Lords from the Commons is either rejected by the Lords, or is so amended that the Commons are unwilling to accept the amendments, it shall be open to the Commons to submit the measure, in the form in which it originally left the House of Commons, to a popular vote, the assent of a majority of the actual voters enabling the House of Commons to present the Bill for the assent of the King without the concurrence of the Upper House.

Under present conditions, a Liberal Administration remains unable to undertake to carry on 'the King's Government', or to fulfil any mandate, either general or specific, on the part of the electorate. The bestowal upon the House of Commons of the optional power of the Referendum, in cases of a deadlock between the Houses, would not only enable it better to fulfil the obligations laid upon it by the people and the King, but would exercise certain moderative influences of value. The House of Lords, differing from the Commons upon a measure submitted to it, would be indisposed to reject it outright, and would be inclined to frame its amendments upon so moderate a plan as to win their adoption by the House of Commons, the latter House in its turn being disposed to accept moderate and reasonable amendments rather than incur the trouble attending a Referendum, with a chance of the rejection of the measure.

In this way the House of Lords, losing its absolute veto, would retain a reasonable measure of power to influence legislation ; the House of Commons, or rather the Ministry, would be chary of attempting to carry through measures which the Lords could compel them either to drop or to submit to the electorate.

Thus, in the case of a Liberal Administration, a remedy would be provided against the obstructive action of a permanently hostile House of Lords, and against the abuse of power by which a Ministry, liberated from any check outside the House of Commons, might govern the country in defiance of popular sentiment and interest. A reasonable and duly restrained power of government would thus be secured for a Liberal Ministry, conducting its legislative

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

career with closer regard than now to popular opinion on concrete measures.

As a method of dealing with the actual situation in which a Liberal Government will find itself, when its first important measure of reform is rejected or mutilated by the Upper House, this plan has conspicuous advantages. The rejection of a popular measure for which the Government claims to have received a clear mandate will have aroused a strong public sentiment. Such defence of the action of the House of Lords as is offered cannot be based upon a mere appeal to force and existing constitutional rights; for in that case the existence of a second hereditary Chamber would at once be jeopardised. The defence of the House of Lords in its act of rejection will be supported by a denial that the Government has received a mandate for the measure. The proposal thus made by the House of Commons for a Bill establishing a Referendum, which shall test this very issue by direct vote, will commend itself to the popular mind as an obviously fair and sound way out of an existing *impasse*. Thus the first condition of English reform, the urgent pressure of a concrete present necessity, will be enlisted in support of this solution.

So far as the conduct of government under a Liberal Administration is concerned, the efficacy of this reform seems obvious. But for the abuses of a Conservative Administration it would appear to be impotent. Under such an Administration, there would continue to exist no second independent Chamber, exercising a genuinely deliberative and moderating influence upon the Commons, while the dangerous autocracy of a Conservative Cabinet would remain unchecked; for the Administration would be under no compulsion, and would have no disposition, to submit any of its measures, however disputable, to the Referendum.

If it be deemed impracticable to secure any form of Second Chamber not unduly biassed in favour of Conservative measures and therefore unlikely to maintain an independent judicial attitude, no other road seems open than that of recourse to the instrumentality of a popular Initiative.

The case in point is that of a Conservative Administra-

A NEW WAY WITH THE LORDS

tion carrying through measures which, though not supported by any popular mandate, and opposed by a powerful display of public feeling, are nevertheless endorsed by the Second Chamber. This situation can be met in one of two ways. Either a power concurrent with that of the House of Commons could be given to the electorate in the shape of an Initiative demanding the submission of a Bill to the Referendum ; or else an Initiative for a Referendum upon the proposal for a dissolution of Parliament could be given. In either case, the qualification for the Initiative might consist of a sufficiently large proportion of the electorate to prevent its light or frequent adoption.

The risks and difficulties attending the application of an Initiative, even though it required a large percentage of the electorate to secure its operation, are doubtless considerable. But the danger it is designed to meet is still graver—the growing disregard for public opinion on the part of a Ministry which, relying upon the mechanical support of a majority kept to their allegiance by the forcible pressure of the Party machine, persists in legislation for which it has obtained neither public mandate nor informal sanction, and ignores the plainest evidence of public dissatisfaction with its administration.

The wholesome influence of public sentiment upon the conduct of government is visibly diminished of recent years. This diminution is largely attributable to the forcibly assumed authority of the Cabinet, but not entirely. The efficacy of public opinion expressed through its earlier channels is itself enfeebled. The local caucus, mechanising the political life of our towns, has impaired in practice the older liberty of public meetings in which the free judgment of localities found expression in times of strong public feeling. Still more injurious has been the diminished influence of the Press, as a vehicle of popular opinion and control. Owing to reasons which cannot here be discussed, the passage of journalism from a profession into a trade, and the marked subjection of its politics to certain economic and political interests, has reduced to comparatively small dimensions that 'Freedom of the Press' which was once the sensitive organ of the popular will, conveying the

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

approval and dissent, the advice and the warnings of the people, to their representatives in Parliament. The people have at present no effective means of expressing and enforcing their dissatisfaction with the Ministry which is their agent.

The existence of a power of Initiative, even though reserved for the single use of forcing the submission of the question of a dissolution to a Referendum, would be a restorative of considerable efficacy. The danger that such a power would be frequently used by dissatisfied minorities large enough to force its application, is theoretic. For the recoil of public opinion against a particularist Party which put the country to the inconvenience of a Referendum upon an issue where the veto went strongly against the initiators, would involve so severe a damage to their cause as to prevent all frivolous resource to such a dangerous weapon. Only where a strong and variously formed condemnation of the policy of a Government existed in the mind of the electorate, would the Initiative be likely to be used.

In proposing the introduction of a new instrument, the direct vote of the people, into the constitutional machinery of legislation, it is contended that new conditions have arisen under our existing representative system, impairing the legitimate control of the electorate over legislation ; that some new organic reform of our constitution is essential to safeguard this electoral control ; and that this reform is more effective and advantageous than any other.

This *primâ facie* case for the Referendum, however, will be confronted by three sets of objections, each deserving of consideration.

The first objection is one of principle. A direct participation of the electorate in acts of legislation contravenes the principles and the practice of Representative Government, based, as they are, upon the conviction that it is expedient for the electorate not to adjudicate themselves upon concrete acts of public policy, but to delegate this adjudication to persons chosen by them upon general tests of fitness. Is it wise, it will be urged, to impair this Representative system by grafting upon it a process of direct government ?

To this it may be replied thus. The Representative

A NEW WAY WITH THE LORDS

system, as an instrument of popular government, is no longer adequate ; it is breaking down. Two encroachments upon the liberty and efficiency of the Representative House have already been exposed : the permanent invincible obstruction of the House of Lords during Liberal Administrations, and the absorption of the powers of the House of Commons by a most indirectly and incompletely Representative body, the Cabinet. But there is a third encroachment still more injurious. Members are no longer elected on merely general grounds of competency, with liberty of free judgment upon issues presented to them in the House of Commons. They are either elected upon pledges relating to specific acts of legislation extorted during a campaign by energetic groups of electors ; or, if they are returned unpledged on any controversial issue, the Party machine, central or local, usually a combination of the two, forces them to vote, not in conformity with the liberty of a representative, but as a servant of the Party machine. Here is a double injury to the principles and practice of Representation. So far as a member is pledged before election, he has already passed from representation to delegacy, but to a peculiarly incomplete and dangerous form of delegacy. If an elected member had received his mandate upon the chief current political issues from organised bodies which formed in each instance a majority of the electorate, the logic of delegacy would be observed ; for the judgment of a House of Commons, so chosen, would on a given issue have a reasonable chance of registering the judgment of the majority of the electorate. But there is no security, under present conditions, of such reasonable form of delegacy. Under the present system of pledges extorted by active groups, it is quite probable that a majority of the members of a House of Commons may be committed to six or seven legislative acts, each of which is opposed to the convictions of a majority of the electorate, possibly to a majority of the electors in each constituency. A Referendum upon such issues would evidently mean the substitution of a sound system of direct government, not for Representative government, but for another unsound system of direct government. The temptation to secure a majority vote in a constituency

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

by conciliating and collecting a number of minority votes, is one of the gravest dangers of current politics in this country ; and it is difficult to perceive what other check upon it is possible than a Referendum.

Where, as in 1900, a single issue is paramount in the eyes of the electorate, the member may be regarded as a pledged delegate upon this issue, escaping definite pledges upon most other issues. But he is not free to exercise the true function of a representative upon these latter ; the Party machine, whether as represented in the office of the Chief Whip or in the local caucus, claims to impose its mandates upon him, enforcing them by heavy penalties directed against all who insist upon exercising the liberties of a representative.

These powers of pledges, the local caucus and the Party central machine imposing the will of the Cabinet, are eating away the representative character of the House of Commons ; they are natural corruptions of the Representative system, and seem incapable of specific remedy. In the United States, where the mechanisation of the Party system, and its manipulation by political experts and professional ' bosses ', is further advanced than in Great Britain, a larger consensus of intelligent opinion is constantly gathering in support of the Referendum as the only practicable method of breaking the tyranny of the Machine. Alike in Federal, State, and Municipal politics, this direct reference to the vote of the people is found to be the soundest and most feasible safeguard of the public interests against the control which certain ' vested interests ' of finance, manufactures, and officialism, are able to exercise over the representative machinery, by organised arts of management.

Though less advanced, the same maladies of Machine management, as M. Ostrogorski shows, are gathering in the Party system here. Though our House of Commons at present is less completely controlled by special economic interests than are most elected legislative bodies in America, yet the existence of the non-elected House of Lords, a standing engine of the landed and capitalist interests, renders the provision of the Referendum, as a direct mode of enforcing the general will, quite as desirable here as in

A NEW WAY WITH THE LORDS

America. The Referendum is not really inconsistent with genuine representation, but supplementary to it. Recourse to it upon important controversial issues would release candidates from the obligation to give pledges, and, so far, would restore their function of Representatives. They would have increased liberty to exercise their judgment upon specific issues—a judgment qualified as regards efficacy by the possibilities of a popular veto.

In Switzerland, the Referendum is found to operate, not in destruction, but in support of a genuinely representative system. Members are elected to the Federal Assembly or to the Federal Council upon general considerations of character, intellect, and experience, rather than as adherents of a Party or as supporters of particular measures. Citizens are the better enabled to choose men to represent them upon general grounds of efficiency, because they reserve the power to reject any act of their Representative which they strongly disapprove. One effect is to secure greater permanency in the *personnel* of the legislature. Only forty *per cent.* of the seats in the Federal Assembly were contested in the elections of 1887; and in the Federal Council there is observed “a tendency to become a permanent body.” “The Swiss Federal Council is, in fact, far more akin to a body of *elected civil servants* than to the Responsible Ministry which governs the United Kingdom, or its analogues in some European countries, or in the self-governing British colonies. The same absence of Party spirit characterises the election of members to the Federal Assembly. The Swiss have it so firmly rooted in their minds, that there is no need to dismiss a good man because you disagree with him, that the certainty of the result prevents the elections from being contested.”¹

The small infusion of a Referendum, here suggested, would appear to act, in some measure, as a solvent of our Party spirit. But if it be true that Party spirit, harnessed to the caucus, impairs the liberty of judgment in the Representative, assists to maintain the despotism of a virtually non-elective Cabinet, and permits the passing of laws opposed in fact to the desires or interests of the

¹ Deploige, *The Referendum in Switzerland*. Introd. p. xxviii.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

majority of citizens, some abatement of Party spirit is urgently desirable. If such abatement, through the occasional use of the Referendum, favours election of representatives on grounds of general confidence, and secures greater continuity of service, it cannot be regarded as inimical to the uses of a Representative system.

Even were the same tendency exhibited here as in Switzerland, to substitute individual for collective responsibility of Ministers, a Ministry not being composed entirely of members of a single definite Party, nor committed as a body to the successful carriage of a policy or set of laws, it is not evident that government would suffer. If such measures as are here suggested, accompanied by shorter Parliaments, led gradually to the establishment of a government in which both Ministers and House of Commons enjoyed greater liberty of individual initiative and judgment, with more expert knowledge derived from greater security in tenure of office, their actual efficiency for legislation and their authority and influence might be enhanced ; while the exercise of a final power of veto, by its educative influence upon an electorate no longer closely organised under Party banners, but grouped variously for the promotion of different concrete issues, might go far to achieve the desired consummation of a harmonious co-operation between an intelligent democracy and a competent assembly of legislative experts.

A reasonable Representative system requires the limitation provided by this veto. Why should citizens assign to legislators a degree of power which they assign to no other specialists ? Every man chooses his doctor and his lawyer, places a general confidence in their knowledge and judgment, but always reserves his right to reject their advice. No business man appoints an agent with unlimited power to act on his behalf for a long term of years. To elect a man to be your absolutely unchecked legislative agent for seven years, on the strength of a general impression of his capacity, based upon expressions of opinion in regard to one or more of the more dramatic Party issues of the moment, is a course without parallel in the conduct of life : it is ludicrous in its excess of confidence.

A NEW WAY WITH THE LORDS

But an even stronger argument for a guarded use of the Referendum rests in the nature of democracy. Ultimately, the success of self-government depends on the intelligent and honest interest of the people in the practice of the art of government. These qualities are best fostered by educating a sense of responsibility in individual citizens. Now this sense of responsibility, so far from being educated, is impaired by the excited appeal to Party sentiment upon a few blurred or artfully distorted issues once in six years. A Referendum which forced citizens to confront a single issue at a time, with the supreme responsibility of the direct immediate operation of their judgment in legislative conduct before their eyes, would form a most serviceable instrument of political education, informing the public mind and quickening the general will. The direct association of the mind of the individual citizen with some concrete acts of government, is a necessary part of his training under democracy.

Apart from these objections based on broad principles of government, two of a more practical character will be advanced. Among reforming politicians, it is often urged that the Referendum is unduly conservative in its effects. This objection is commonly supported by the view that elected persons are more advanced in their approval of concrete measures of reform than the majority which has elected them, and are better acquainted with their real needs and with the way of supplying these needs. The result of the Referendum would thus be to delay the attainment of genuine reforms. This allegation is commonly supported by illustrations of alleged reforms vetoed by the Swiss Referendum.

To this it is possible to make two replies. It may be maintained that there is no such thing as a reform which is good *per se*, without regard to its acceptability by the people, that the goodness of every measure largely depends upon the efficacy of its administration, and that a measure imposed by *force majeure* upon a body of reluctant citizens will generally be a failure. It may, however, be retorted, that this exercise of a veto cannot be rightly held to imply that the people is not ripe for a reform, or that the reform

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

measure will in fact fail of acceptance in its operation. The conservatism displayed in the veto may represent an unreasoning instinct of defence against the momentary inconvenience of change *per se*, or may be due to the fact that dislike is a stronger rallying ground for voters than approval. Thus may a sound reform, whose utility would commend itself to the 'general will' based on actual experience of its operation, be rejected where it is offered in the merely formal shape of an untried measure.

Now there is doubtless some real force in this objection. But can it reasonably be regarded as fatal to a proposal to use a Referendum for the purpose here outlined, *i.e.*, to substitute the conservative or excessive caution of the people for the partisan Conservatism of a House of Lords, and to stop interested or reactionary legislation on the part of an uncontrolled Cabinet?

Moreover, holding, as we must, that the educative effect of the power given to the people by a Referendum law is one of its most valuable properties, it may be urged that the necessity of overcoming such instinctive aversion from change will itself stimulate the propagandist spirit of reformers to great effort, and that thus, furthering the general march of progress, it may prove a blessing in disguise.

In conclusion, there remains a set of objections which will weigh heavily with many practical politicians. Frequent voting is a trouble and expense; most citizens will not vote; and if a bare majority of those voting determines the issue, it will usually express the will of a minority of the whole electorate. There is only one case out of 41 votes taken on Swiss Federal laws, between 1874 and 1898, in which a law was accepted by a majority of the entire body of electors. But the objection that a minority of the electorate determines the issue has little value. Citizens who, from ignorance, indifference, or doubt, refuse to record a vote, may fairly be regarded either as non-existent, or as equally divided in their inclinations: the general will is reasonably held to reside in active, not in nominal citizens.

There is perhaps more substance in the objection to the multiplication of electoral machinery and occasions of voting. Numerous calls upon the body of electors to record their

A NEW WAY WITH THE LORDS

votes on laws would be intolerable, and would rather generate indifference, than further political education. But it may fairly be assumed that the resentment which electors would show towards a Government frequently or lightly applying the Referendum would itself act as a considerable check, while the knowledge that it was available to override their veto would usually prevent the Lords from rejecting or mutilating important Bills passed by the Commons. The Referendum would thus remain an *ultima ratio*, rather than a normal instrument of government.

Moreover, the inconvenience of the Referendum might be greatly abated by an assimilation of the Parliamentary to the County Council and Municipal franchises, so as to enable a Referendum upon one or more issues to be taken at the same time and upon the same ballot paper as was used for the purpose of local elections. This is the course pursued in American elections, where the same ballot serves a large variety of electoral purposes. Any not excessive complexity thus introduced into an election may perhaps even be regarded as an informal education test, or, as Americans would say, a 'foolometer'; errors would cancel, and the will of the intelligent majority prevail.

In order to work smoothly and effectively, explicit provision must be made in the Referendum Act regarding the areas of popular voting where a measure is submitted to the people. Where the substance of a law rejected by the House of Lords has exclusive application to a particular department of the United Kingdom, or to some smaller local area, it seems reasonable that the Referendum should be confined to the citizens of the affected area. To refer to the entire body of British electors purely Scottish measures, which are at present virtually determined by a Scottish Committee of the House, would be a retrograde and manifestly inept policy; and the same reasoning is applicable to all measures exclusively English, Welsh, or Irish in their effect. Nor can there be any reason for refusing to extend the same treatment to measures of narrower local application, affecting the rights and interests of single municipalities. If any one is disposed to apprehend that such devolution of a function of legislation to local areas introduces Home Rule by a side-

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

wind, he may be reminded that in no case could the people of Ireland, Wales, or London initiate or pass any Act enforcing their will or interests in opposition to those of the nation as a whole. By the Referendum they could only confirm or reject a measure which has already received the sanction of the majority of the representatives in the House of Commons. The question as to the actual area of reference, where a measure is submitted to the popular vote, could be simply settled by a clause in the Referendum Act, providing that the area should be prescribed in the preamble of every Bill, and should be co-incident in every case with the area named for the application of the Act. If, in the case of any measure, it seemed doubtful whether the measure affected the interests of the area so exclusively as to be safely entrusted to a Referendum so narrow in its scope, this doubt or fear might reasonably affect the fate of the Bill in the House of Commons: if the Bill passed the House, it would be deemed to have obtained the sanction of the House for the proposed area of reference in case of an application of the Referendum. If it were urged, as it reasonably might, that this absolute power of determining the area of Referendum might conceivably be abused by a Government securing the enactment of some Home Rule Bill or other measure, which in fact impaired the powers of the Imperial government, by providing in the Bill a reference limited to Ireland or Wales, upon the ground that this area was alone named in the Bill, such a danger might be provided against in the Referendum Act. This Act might contain a clause expressly providing that any Act conferring legislative powers upon any body other than the Imperial Parliament in the United Kingdom should be submitted to a vote of the entire electorate of the United Kingdom, disregarding the area named in the preamble of the Bill.

To the application of the Referendum in local or provincial areas, no objection could be raised on the ground that measures of purely local application might involve in their administration, or otherwise, some Imperial expenditure. For the question of such expenditure can always be raised and determined by Parliament in the discussion of the Budget, while the passing of the Local Act by the House of

A NEW WAY WITH THE LORDS

Commons might be regarded as carrying a provisional sanction of such expenditure as is required for its administration out of the national exchequer.

It may be felt that the introduction of any novel instrument, such as the Referendum, into the legislative machinery, is in itself undesirable. Those who feel this may nevertheless approve it as the best expedient for counteracting the graver dangers which corrupt and impede the operations of our Representative government; the best method of enabling the popular will and interests to surmount the obstructive barriers of the House of Lords on the one hand, the autocratic Cabinet upon the other.

Convinced democrats will hold that the Referendum is in reality a sound organic support to a Representative system of government, basing their judgment upon the belief that democracy can only be realised in proportion as the people is educated and enabled to take a direct part in making the general will express itself in concrete acts of government.

J. A. HOBSON

HAIL PYTHO !

THOU serpent, thou lithe length of gleaming plates,
O choicely finished work ! thou instrument
Of war, ingenious death's device, what hates
Hast thou taught to evolve their dull intent ?

What treacheries to thee owed subtle skill,
Thou vision ? Beauteous devil of the grass,
Quick-sighted and close-thoughted, what a thrill
Thine undulations through man's conscience pass !—

Thrust home to probe and quicken buried vice,
Some primal cruelty which surely stained
His savage first keen joy in power, the lie's
First glib anticipation, his spite gained ?

The application of thy gliding bark
To rigid serpent forms of trunk or bough,
Which helps thee climb, or sling thy length, or yark
Thy small malignant head o'er gulfs, ah how !

That demonstrates nice use of force alike
Wasteless, assured ; yet liv'st thou sloth begloomed ;
If with a darting swiftness thou canst strike,
What indolent queen hath viewed so, ere she doomed.

Thou dancest,—art more fatal than our young
Women whose lascive forms can tyrannise,
Swayed idly. Stay that tiny flickering tongue !
E'en tigers quail before those small fixed eyes !

Five hundred forms thou hast, five hundred lengths
Stretched from a span long to a fabled mile ;
As many hues as diverse mails ; and strengths
Of venom to match every depth of guile.

HAIL PYTHO !

The innocent blindworm like love's deceit ;
And then the snake, the adder, viper, asp,
Whose bites, like common injuries, defeat
Not leechcraft, or the hand's repentant clasp.

Cobras there are too, as their mortal foes
Are from whom poison can be taken, nay,
That can be charmed by the spell music throws ;
Their friendly service shall the vermin slay.

There is the boa-constrictor that ne'er will
Untighten, but envelopes and consumes ;
So doubt absorbs with nightmare coils of ill
Hope and the room for heaven, while love fumes,

And sweet affections fret, and life looks drear,
And youth's fair morning was a flux of dreams,
And time and space and power are symbolled clear
In age-long serpents, black, with baneful gleams,

Wound like the orbits wherein planets move
Through spectral convolutions purposeless,
Devoid of joy, devoid of warmth, of love,
The vast digesters of man's vain distress,—

Devoid of all could nourish ease or hope,
Yet not devoid of beauty ; Satan's form
That with the curse pronounced yet deems to cope,
While all his thoughts with plans of conquest swarm.

Limbless and surging, thine invasion sweeps
And loops itself the towering height of night ;
Or, through the water conduit, flows, or creeps
Like the round darkness of a pipe to light ;

Emerged, proceedeth through the city dead,
Contented. Jungle vines have curtained all
Those pillared halls, where solitude is fed,
And stillness mute and viewless hears thee crawl.

Rank vegetation preys on fane and tomb,
Muffles the tower and revels on the roof,
One woven extravagance of gaudy bloom
That, caved in o'er some court, has strained its woof.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

There-through the sun's ray probes at sultry noon,
Across mosaic feels with scorching stealth.—
Thou waitest its caress, approaching boon,
The slow sole kiss that helps thee love thyself.

All other lives are banished, not a beast
Dares venture near the hall where thou dost lie ;
No ferret filches at thy gloomy feast,
Nor bird, nor ape dare wake thee with a cry.

That kiss received which mindeth thee of hell,
That lonely gluttony and torpid trance,
That smouldering fury or alertness fell,
That grandeur when thou dost to kill advance,

In all thy moods, thou virulence, we share ;
Our forefathers have borne thee on their shields,
Symbol of passions trusted to prepare
The delectable transport that all carnage yields.

Among our thoughts thou threadest well-worn ways,
And, though the recognition of thee hurts,
Discreet, thou hast for thy redeeming grace
That charm which all efficiency exerts.

T. STURGE MOORE

SWEDEN AND NORWAY

POLITICAL growth of the utmost importance is taking place in the world. The evolution manifesting itself on the Scandinavian peninsula is only a part of the general evolution towards higher ideals in democratic government, national and international. The higher ideals are slowly gaining ground, despite manifold signs of powerful reaction towards what may be called the Imperial ideal, the undying ideal, inherited from antiquity, which seems to lay hold especially of wealthy states, the real Yellow Peril to human liberty.

The two nations on the Scandinavian peninsula will have to make their voices, it is to be hoped a united voice, heard in the larger council of the family of civilised nations. They are or ought to be able to speak from a firmer platform than nearly all other European nations. Nearly all other European countries labour under dual ideals, contradictory, but, unfortunately, rather advantageous.

A great part of the energy and time of such countries must be, and is, devoted to external possessions. Constitutional democracy at home must suffer when worked together with more or less imperial ideas about external possessions, however benevolent and beneficial these ideas may be. Neither Sweden nor Norway has any cause for occupation or pre-occupation with other than internal questions, defence of their territories, negotiations with other nations about trading and similar interests. Both nations have the problems of the future before them clear of any such dualism ; and, in consequence, their reserve power for solving the problems in question is proportionally greater.

In the Viking and Middle Ages, Norway conquered

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

much and had a considerable "Empire," comprising at one time Dublin, for a longer time "Sodor and Man"; also various other tracts now forming part of the British Kingdom. Sweden had also an "Empire" for many centuries, the Baltic sea being at one time almost a Swedish inland lake. Now neither Sweden nor Norway possesses any land outside home waters.

When Sweden was losing the last (or almost the last) of her external possessions, an arrangement was made at Kiel, 14th January, 1814, for taking Norway from the Danish King in favour of Sweden. Many, possibly most, Swedes at the time wished to interpret this arrangement as a formal and lasting substitution of Norway for the lost possessions. But Norway took a different view of the case. A Norwegian National Assembly met, and adopted a Constitution on the 17th May, 1814. A war arose between Sweden and Norway; but it was not very formidable. The end of it was, that, on the 4th of November following, "as, by the aid of Providence, a tie has been fastened uniting Sweden and Norway not by arms, but by free conviction," the same Constitution was confirmed, with a few alterations. The principal alteration is incorporated in the 1st Article of this Constitutional Law, which reads as follows in literal translation from the Norwegian text:—

"The Kingdom of Norway is a free, independent, indivisible, and inalienable Realm, united with Sweden under one King. Its Form of Government is limitedly and hereditarily monarchic."

In 1815 the Swedish Diet and the Norwegian Storting adopted an "Act regulating the Constitutional relations consequent upon the Union between Sweden and Norway," the 1st Article of which is identical with the 1st Article of the Norwegian Constitution, and reads in literal translation (from the Swedish):—

"The Kingdom of Norway shall be a free and independent Realm which can not be divided or alienated, united with Sweden under one King, and whose Form of Government is limitedly and hereditarily monarchic."

SWEDEN AND NORWAY

Here another reference must be made to historical evolution. Norway lost her last foreign possessions five hundred years ago. During the next 400 years she was under the Danish Kings, who had every reason to be satisfied with the loyalty of Norway in all external relations, amongst others not infrequent wars with Sweden. Still, even in these four centuries, Norway, without claiming or exercising any constitutional voice in the management of the Dano-Norwegian monarchy, retained a distinct national existence. She was, in respect of personal freedom of the subject, like Sweden, essentially of different condition from Denmark, where servile or semi-servile status of the peasantry was prevalent, as it was, more or less, in Continental Europe (except Switzerland) and in the British islands. The national independent life of Norway was voiceless and dormant ; but it was growing, and growing strong in its long sleep.

On the other hand, Sweden, in 1814, had until recently retained portions of her somewhat inflated "Empire," had even been a Great Power during practically the whole of the seventeenth century. It is hard to forget old grandeur. It was perhaps beyond human possibility for Sweden not to wish to appear as "predominant partner" at the side of the new associate. Many Swedes have contended, until recently, that Norway is united to Sweden, owned by Sweden, in compensation for lost possessions ; but the one constituting article determining the mutual relations says "united *with* Sweden under one King." If you will, Norway belongs to the King, and Sweden belongs to the King ; but that is not good phraseology in strict legal constitutional language or philosophy, any more than such expressions as "my King" or "my country." Such expressions are, however, suitable and even commendable as giving an outlet in words for the sentiments which ought to exist between king, subject, and country—sentiments which can not be expressed in legal constitutional documents, although they should form the rock on which the constitutional fabric is built.

The Act of Union has only two clauses bearing on

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

common affairs beyond what might be called dynastic ones. Art. 4 says :—

“The King shall have power to call together armed forces, begin war and conclude peace, make or unmake alliances, despatch and receive Envoys.”

These prerogatives of the King are, however, considerably circumscribed by clauses in the separate Constitutional Laws. Art. 5 determines that the Norwegian Minister of State, with the two other Norwegian Ministers in attendance (in Sweden), shall take part in the Swedish Cabinet Council “whenever matters are under deliberation which concern both Realms”; and, *vice versa*, three members of the Swedish Ministry in the Norwegian Cabinet Council on similar occasions (when in Norway).

The separate Norwegian Constitution makes regulations (21, 22, 92) about consuls; but nowhere is there in the Act of Union any direct regulation that consuls, or even envoys, shall be common for both countries. The practice of the last ninety years has been, that regular representatives or consuls abroad are common for both countries. That practice is founded, not on express Law, but on what has been assumed, and naturally assumed, as a consistent construction of the principle of the Union, which seemed to require unity in foreign relations.

But the Norwegians have never bound themselves to accept that construction of the principle of the Union. They have contended, more strongly than ever during the last twenty years, that separate consuls for Norway would better serve Norwegian interests. And they contend that Norway has full constitutional right, even within the present Act of Union, to have separate consuls.

After many discussions in or out of Cabinet Councils, in the representative Assemblies, in joint or separate Committees and Commissions, and in the Press, there came before the two Ministries two years ago a proposal that Norway should be acknowledged to have constitutionally expressed right to establish separate Norwegian consuls, on the adoption of identical laws regulating consular action, so

SWEDEN AND NORWAY

as to subordinate consuls to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who is a member of the Swedish Ministry.

Some clauses in these proposed identical regulating Laws were found to be unpalatable to the Norwegians, especially a clause giving the Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs power to suspend and dismiss a Norwegian Consul in extreme cases. Exchange of views and proposals was protracted until January last, when the Norwegian Ministry declined to continue negotiations any longer on the subject.

What may be called the Conservative Party in Norway seemed until recently to resist the demand of separation in the Consular service. Now, it appears, practically the whole of the Norwegian nation and its Storting insist on the demand. The special Committee of the Storting, elected *ad hoc* from all political Parties, has recommended unanimously the adoption of a resolution, under which a separate Consular system will begin working on the 1st of April, 1906.

The questions are now: Will the King ever sanction such a Law? He has refused once, but another opportunity may be afforded him. Will the Norwegian King consent to legal notice being given to the Swedish King about the cessation of the consular community of the last ninety years? Will the King consent to order his Minister of Foreign Affairs, who is a member of the Swedish Ministry, to order the Envoys (joint) to obtain *exequaturs* for the separate Norwegian Consuls? The Norwegian King has the right of veto, but only suspensive veto, which can be superseded by repetition of the vetoed resolution.

After the Norwegian Ministry had closed the negotiations in January last, a wish was expressed from the Throne that the respective Ministries should begin new negotiations, not on the consular affairs only, but on a very much widened basis, covering all matters relating to the common affairs of the two countries. This wish was welcomed on the Swedish side, but not accepted by the Norwegian Ministry, nor supported by any appreciable part of the Norwegian Press. The Norwegian nation seems to have taken much to heart the insistence of the Swedish negotiators on the demand for

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the submission of purely Norwegian agents to the power of suspension or dismissal by a Swedish Minister. The honour of the Norwegian nation requires, it is alleged, that a vindication should be insisted upon at any cost, and that other matters, however important, should be left aside, until the almost unanimous demand for separate consuls has been fulfilled.

In the controversy which has lasted as long as the Union, great use has been made by writers on the Swedish side of the documents contemporary with the formation of the Union, *e.g.*, the Treaty of Kiel 1814, as supplementary to, or explanatory of, the Act of Union. But it has not been proved that either Norway or Sweden is bound for ever by the Act of Union, far less by the intentions or the stipulations of the parties to the Treaty of Kiel, still less by constructions of the principal documents which were propounded on the Swedish side at that time or after. If Norway is a free and independent kingdom, she must be allowed to have the power of deciding upon any change in her agreements or in her constitution. And, with regard to Consuls, she has not even entered into any definite agreement with Sweden. A couple of years ago, one of Sweden's most eminent jurisconsults, in high office, admitted frankly to me, that Norway had undoubtedly a right to decide on the Consular Question, without interference from Sweden. All agreements, even Acts of Union, are terminable ; constructions built by assumption on an agreement all the more terminable.

In the present state of international politics, it is of the highest importance that our two nations should make common cause against any one Power which should attempt to infringe the independence or integrity of the territory of either. But the idea of obtaining a permanent assurance of such common cause by means of a war for making one nation out of two, seems to have disappeared from practical politics. That idea of making one nation out of the two was founded on a serious misreading of American history. The Civil War was fought between parties who had grown up from a common British stem, gained their freedom together, ever lived in a common Union, with the

SWEDEN AND NORWAY

same language, the same traditions. Norway and Sweden have had quite distinct nationalities, different languages, institutions, and laws, for a thousand years. Five hundred years ago, an attempt was made to form a permanent Union of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The greatest of Sweden's historians said repeatedly, that that union "looked like an idea"; and that Union broke down, because it came to be tried too late, several centuries too late. Norway issued into acknowledged free and independent national life in 1814, after four centuries of union under the Danish Kings; but she had not been in any way amalgamated with Denmark. Probably only barbaric tribes can be absorbed by a conquering nation. There is no hope of amalgamation between Sweden and Norway. Still, they can stand together against an enemy; and most probably they will. Under what kind of formula they will make their stand, we shall have to find out. Under the same King? We trust so even now. Under the same Act of Union, or under another Act of Union, or under another kind of *modus vivendi*? We shall begin to see the answer within a few weeks.

There is serious disappointment amongst Swedes, especially amongst those who have read the history of their country with ardent patriotism, that the Norwegians are so insistent and "touchy" about their nationality. Swedes have learnt a great deal from the vicissitudes of their fortunes in past centuries, and do not willingly consent to enter upon an unknown field, into which they feel they are forced by the action of the Norwegians. The Swedes have thought that the Act of Union, with constructions added by usage in the last ninety years, contains the minimum of regulation for common affairs. They are unwilling to loosen the bonds which already seem hardly strong enough to keep the two members of the Union together for the facing of difficulties. They have done everything they could to lessen the speed of their vigorous rejuvenised partner. They think immensely highly of that excellent partner, although, in the heat of discussion, sometimes too much stress has been laid on criticism of him. They wish him to see that they mean only common good (certainly not only selfish advantage for themselves), common strength, and common

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

happiness. Future history will perhaps explain, soften, and bless their prudence. When two parties quarrel, generally neither is perfectly right in every particular. But generally one is more right than the other. May the best cause win ! Amongst other partakers in the discussion in the English Press, a distinguished Swedish explorer has written some letters to *The Times*, from which it could be assumed that the disappointment in Sweden is deep-rooted. No doubt there is disappointment, even pique. But such feelings, however painful, should not be accentuated. The points of difference should be noted and met manfully, with a view to the re-establishing of complete understanding. As it has been pointed out above, the two nations probably have to play an important part together in international discussion and action. They may have to fight ; and they must fight together. Because a single scrap of territory lost from either nation to an expanding neighbour, one act of weakness on the part of either, would signify the beginning of the fate of Poland.

The smaller States must combine, not necessarily by definite Unions, not necessarily even by formal alliances ; but they must combine. Even if there had never been a Union between the two nations of the Scandinavian peninsula, geography and politics would have unavoidably produced a combination. The ultimate form of the combination, whether reduced into writing or not, will have to be found, and, when found, it will be an example for the whole world. The problem facing smaller States must be solved ; and it is not unlikely that the two peoples on the Scandinavian peninsula will be fore-runners in finding a solution. All the Great Powers are frankly expansionists, and can, therefore, contribute nothing towards the solution of the problem how combination should be carried out in order to prevent further encroachment by themselves, singly or in concert. On the peninsula, we are, in fact, clearing away the last remnant of elements which might confuse the solution, that last remnant being the claim by Sweden of "hegemony," "elder brothership," or whatever it might be called.

Swedish people, probably the great majority of them,

SWEDEN AND NORWAY

are convinced that the foreign policy of the two nations must be managed by a common Minister of Foreign Affairs at home, and a staff of common Envoys and Consuls abroad. It is an honest and plausible conviction ; even the greatest Norwegian Radical will admit as much when the heat of controversy has been allayed, and the exchange of harsh words is forgotten. The Swedish people evidently prefer the idea of an entire dissolution of the Union to the admission of separation, which admission they not unnaturally look upon as only the first wedge in the gradual destruction of the Union. No one should blame the Swedes for this commendable courage to face the difficulty. In any case, the Swedes will not propose the dissolution ; but the majority will not resist the dissolution proposed by Norway.

It should here be mentioned that lately signs have been frequent showing how regretfully the Norwegians are going to carry out what they feel to be their duty. At the same time as there is seen unabated enthusiasm and no hesitation, an open and sympathetic eye will have no difficulty in finding out, how painful it is to them to go against the wish and advice of their King, whom they have every reason to venerate and love.

And on the Swedish side there is, amongst all signs of irritability, evidence of sorrowful regret that Norwegian neighbours find an unavoidable necessity where nothing of the kind appears to the Swedes.

Sweden and Norway will have to learn to appreciate more fully than before, the efficacy for good of unreserved trust in human liberty and human responsibility amongst themselves.

A SWEDISH PATRIOT

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

CHAPTER II

MISS RABY'S first novel, *The Eternal Moment*, was written round the idea that Man does not live by Time alone, that an evening gone may become like a thousand ages in the courts of heaven—the idea that was afterwards expounded more clearly and more philosophically by Mæterlinck. She herself now declared that it was a tiresome, affected book, and that the title suggested the dentist's chair. But she had written it when she was feeling young and happy; and that, rather than maturity, is the hour in which to formulate a creed. As years pass, the conception may become more solid; but the desire and the power to impart it to others are alike weakened. It did not altogether displease her that her earliest work had been her most ambitious.

By a strange fate, the book made a great sensation, especially in unimaginative circles. Idle people interpreted it to mean that there was no harm in wasting time; vulgar people that there was no harm in being fickle; pious people interpreted it as an attack upon morality. The authoress became well known in society, where her enthusiasm for the lower classes only lent her an additional charm. That very year Lady Anstey, Mrs. Heriot, the Marquis of Bambergh, and many others, penetrated to Vorta, where the scene of the book was laid. They returned enthusiastic. Lady Anstey exhibited her water-colour drawings; Mrs. Heriot, who photographed, wrote an article in *The Strand*; while *The Nineteenth Century* published a long description of the place by the Marquis

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

of Bamburgh, entitled *The Modern Peasant, and his Relations with Roman Catholicism*.

Thanks to these efforts, Vorta became a rising place ; and people who liked being off the beaten track went there, and pointed out the way to others. Miss Raby, by a series of trivial accidents, had never returned to the village whose rise was so intimately connected with her own. She had heard from time to time of its progress. It had also been whispered that an inferior class of tourist was finding it out ; and, fearing to find something spoilt, she had at last a certain diffidence in returning to scenes which once had given her so much pleasure. Colonel Leyland persuaded her ; he wanted a cool healthy spot for the summer, where he could read and talk and find walks suitable for an athletic invalid. Their friends laughed ; their acquaintances gossiped ; their relatives were furious. But he was courageous and she was indifferent. They had accomplished the expedition under the scanty ægis of Elizabeth.

Her arrival was saddening. It displeased her to see the great hotels in a great circle, standing away from the village where all life should have centred. Their illuminated titles, branded on the tranquil evening slopes, still danced in her eyes. And the monstrous *Hotel des Alpes* haunted her like a nightmare. In her dreams she recalled the portico, the ostentatious lounge, the polished walnut bureau, the vast rack for the bedroom keys, the panoramic bedroom crockery, the uniforms of the officials, and the smell of smart people—which is to some nostrils quite as depressing as the smell of poor ones. She was not enthusiastic over the progress of civilisation, knowing by Eastern experiences that civilisation rarely puts her best foot foremost, and is apt to make the barbarians immoral and vicious before her compensating qualities arrive. And here there was no question of progress : the world had more to learn from the village than the village from the world.

At the *Biscione*, indeed, she had found little change—only the pathos of a survival. The old landlord had died, and the old landlady was ill in bed ; but the antique spirit

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

had not yet departed. On the timbered front was still painted the dragon swallowing the child—the arms of the Milanese Visconti, from whom the Cantùs might well be descended. For there was something about the little hotel which compelled a sympathetic guest to believe, for the time at all events, in aristocracy. The great manner, only to be obtained without effort, ruled throughout. In each bedroom were three or four beautiful things—a little piece of silk tapestry, a fragment of rococo carving, some blue tiles, framed and hung upon the whitewashed wall. There were pictures in the sitting rooms and on the stairs—eighteenth-century pictures in the style of Carlo Dolce and the Caracci—a blue-robed Mater Dolorosa, a fluttering saint, a magnanimous Alexander with a receding chin. A debased style—so the superior person and the textbooks say. Yet, at times, it may have more freshness and significance than a newly-purchased Fra Angelico. Miss Raby, who had visited dukes in their residences without a perceptible tremor, felt herself blatant and modern when she entered the *Albergo Biscione*. The most trivial things—the sofa cushions, the table cloths, the cases for the pillows—, though they might be made of poor materials and be æsthetically incorrect, inspired her with reverence and humility. Through this cleanly, gracious dwelling there had once moved Signor Cantù with his china-bowled pipe, Signora Cantù in her snuff-coloured shawl, and Bartolommeo Cantù, now proprietor of the *Grand Hotel des Alpes*.

She sat down to breakfast next morning in a mood which she tried to attribute to her bad night and her increasing age. Never, she thought, had she seen people more unattractive and more unworthy than her fellow guests. A black-browed woman was holding forth on patriotism and the duty of English tourists to present an undivided front to foreign nations. Another woman kept up a feeble lament, like a dribbling tap which never gathers flow yet never quite ceases, complaining of the food, the charges, the noise, the clouds, the dust. She liked coming here herself, she said ; but she hardly liked to recommend it to her friends : it was the kind of hotel one felt like

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

that about. Males were rare, and in great demand ; a young one was describing, amid fits of laughter, the steps he had taken to astonish the natives.

Miss Raby was sitting opposite the famous fresco, which formed the only décoration of the room. It had been discovered during some repairs ; and, though the surface had been injured in places, the colours were still bright. Signora Cantù attributed it now to Titian, now to Giotto, and declared that no one could interpret its meaning ; professors and artists had puzzled themselves in vain. This she said because it pleased her to say it ; the meaning was perfectly clear, and had been frequently explained to her. Those four figures were Sibyls, holding prophecies of the Nativity. It was uncertain for what original reason they had been painted high up in the mountains, at the extreme boundary of Italian art. Now, at all events, they were an invaluable source of conversation ; and many an acquaintance had been opened, and argument averted, by their timely presence on the wall.

"Aren't those saints cunning !" said an American lady, following Miss Raby's glance.

The lady's father muttered something about superstition. They were a lugubrious couple, lately returned from the Holy Land, where they had been cheated shamefully,—and their attitude towards religion had suffered in consequence.

Miss Raby said, rather sharply, that the saints were Sibyls.

"But I don't recall Sibyls," said the lady, "either in the N.T. or the O."

"Inventions of the priests to deceive the peasantry," said the father sadly. "Same as their churches ; tinsel pretending to be gold, cotton pretending to be silk, stucco pretending to be marble ; same as their processions, same as their—(he swore)—campaniles."

"My father," said the lady, bending forward, "he does suffer so from insomnia. Fancy a bell every morning at six !"

"Yes, ma'am ; you profit. We've stopped it."

"Stopped the early bell ringing ?" cried Miss Raby.

People looked up to see who she was. Some one whispered that she wrote.

He replied that he had come up all these feet for rest, and

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

that if he did not get it he would move on to another center. The English and American visitors had co-operated, and forced the hotel keepers to take action. Now the priests rang a dinner bell, which was endurable. He believed that 'corperation' would do anything: it had been the same over the peasants.

"How did the tourists interfere with the peasants?" asked Miss Raby, getting very hot, and trembling all over.

"We said the same; we had come for rest, and we would have it. Every week they got drunk and sang till two. Is that a proper way to go on, anyhow?"

"I remember," said Miss Raby, "that some of them did get drunk. But I also remember how they sang."

"Quite so. Till two," he retorted.

They parted in mutual irritation. She left him holding forth on the necessity of a new universal religion of the open air. Over his head stood the four Sibyls, gracious for all their clumsiness and crudity, each proffering a tablet inscribed with concise promise of redemption. If the old religions had indeed become insufficient for humanity, it did not seem probable that an adequate substitute would be produced in America.

It was too early to pay her promised visit to Signora Cantù. Nor was Elizabeth, who had been rude overnight and was now tiresomely penitent, a possible companion. There were a few tables outside the inn, at which some women sat, drinking beer. Pollarded chestnuts shaded them; and a low wooden balustrade fenced them off from the village street. On this balustrade Miss Raby perched, for it gave her a view of the campanile. A critical eye could discover plenty of faults in its architecture. But she looked at it all with increasing pleasure, in which was mingled a certain gratitude.

The German waitress came out and suggested very civilly that she should find a more comfortable seat. This was the place where the lower classes ate; would she not go to the drawing room?

"Thank you, no; for how many years have you classified your guests according to their birth?"

"For many years. It was necessary," replied the

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

admirable woman. She returned to the house full of meat and common-sense, one of the many signs that the Teuton was gaining on the Latin in this debateable valley.

A grey-haired lady came out next, shading her eyes from the sun, and crackling *The Morning Post*. She glanced at Miss Raby pleasantly, blew her nose, apologized for speaking, and spoke as follows :

"This evening, I wonder if you know, there is a concert in aid of the stained glass window for the English Church. Might I persuade you to take tickets ? As has been said, it is so important that English people should have a rallying point, is it not ? "

"Most important," said Miss Raby ; "but I wish the rallying point could be in England."

The grey-haired lady smiled. Then she looked puzzled. Then she realised that she had been insulted, and, crackling *The Morning Post*, departed.

"I have been rude," thought Miss Raby dejectedly. "Rude to a lady as silly and as grey-haired as myself. This is not a day on which I ought to talk to people."

Her life had been successful and, on the whole, happy. She was unaccustomed to that mood, which is termed depressed, but which certainly gives visions of wider, if greyer, horizons. That morning her outlook altered. She walked through the village, scarcely noticing the mountains by which it was still surrounded, or the unaltered radiance of its sun. But she was fully conscious of something new : of the indefinable corruption which is produced by the passage of a large number of people.

Even at that time the air was heavy with meat and drink, to which was added dust and tobacco smoke and the smell of tired horses. Carriages were huddled against the church, and underneath the campanile a woman was guarding a stack of bicycles. The season had been bad for climbing ; and groups of young men in smart Norfolk suits were idling up and down, waiting to be hired as guides. Two large inexpensive hotels stood opposite the post office ; and in front of them innumerable little tables surged out into the street. Here, from an early hour in the morning, eating had gone on, and would continue till a late hour at night. The

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

customers, chiefly German, refreshed themselves with cries and with laughter, passing their arms round the waists of their wives. Then, rising heavily, they departed in single file towards some view point, whereon a red flag indicated the possibility of another meal. The whole population was employed, even down to the little girls, who worried the guests to buy picture post-cards and edelweiss. Vorta had taken to the tourist trade.

A village must have some trade ; and this village had always been full of virility and power. Obscure and happy, its splendid energies had found employment in wresting a livelihood out of the earth, whence had come a certain dignity, and kindliness, and love for other men. Civilisation did not relax these energies, but it had diverted them ; and all the precious qualities, which might have helped to heal the world, had been destroyed. The family affection, the affection for the *commune*, the sane pastoral virtues—all had perished while the campanile which was to embody them was being built. No villain had done this thing : it was the work of ladies and gentlemen who were good and rich and often clever—who, if they thought about the matter at all, thought that they were conferring a benefit, moral as well as commercial, on any place in which they chose to stop.

Never before had Miss Raby been conscious of such universal misdoing. She returned to the *Biscione* shattered and exhausted, remembering that terrible text in which there is much semblance of justice : “ But woe to him through whom the offence cometh.”

Signora Cantù, somewhat over-excited, was lying in a dark room on the ground floor. The walls were bare ; for all the beautiful things were in the rooms of her guests whom she loved as a good queen might love her subjects—and the walls were dirty also, for this was Signora Cantù's own room. But no palace had so fair a ceiling ; for from the wooden beams were suspended a whole dowry of copper vessels—pails, cauldrons, water pots, of every colour from lustrous black to the palest pink. It pleased the old lady to look up at these tokens of prosperity. An American had lately departed without them, more puzzled than angry.

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

The two women had little in common ; for Signora Cantù was an inflexible aristocrat. Had she been a great lady of the great century, she would have gone speedily to the guillotine ; and Miss Raby would have howled approval. Now, with her scanty hair in curl-papers, and the snuff-coloured shawl spread over her, she entertained the distinguished authoress with accounts of other distinguished people who had stopped, and might again stop, at the *Biscione*. At first her tone was dignified. But before long she proceeded to village news ; and a certain bitterness began to show itself. She chronicled deaths with a kind of melancholy pride. Being old herself, she liked to meditate on the fairness of Fate, which had not spared her contemporaries, and often had not spared her juniors. Miss Raby was unaccustomed to extract such consolation. She too was growing old ; but it would have pleased her better if others could have remained young. She remembered few of these people well ; but to hear of their deaths was symbolical, just as the death of a flower may symbolise the passing of all the spring.

Signora Cantù then went on to her own misfortunes, beginning with an account of a landslip, which had destroyed her little farm. A landslip, in that valley, never hurried. Under the green coat of turf water would collect, just as an abscess is formed under the skin. There would be a lump on the sloping meadow, then the lump would break and discharge a slowly-moving stream of mud and stones. Then the whole area seemed to be corrupted ; on every side the grass cracked and doubled into fantastic creases ; the trees grew awry ; the barns and cottages collapsed ; all the beauty turned gradually to indistinguishable pulp, which slid downwards till it was washed away by some stream.

From the farm they proceeded to other grievances, over which Miss Raby became almost too depressed to sympathise. It was a bad season ; the guests did not understand the ways of the hotel ; the servants did not understand the guests ; she was told she ought to have a *concierge*. But what was the good of a *concierge* ?

"I have no idea," said Miss Raby, feeling that no *concierge* would ever restore the fortunes of the *Biscione*.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

"They say he would meet the diligence and entrap the new arrivals. What pleasure should I have from guests I entrapped?"

"The other hotels do it," said Miss Raby, sadly.

"Exactly. Every day a man comes down from the *Alpes*."

There was an awkward silence. Hitherto they had avoided mentioning that name.

"He takes them all," she continued, in a burst of passion. "My son takes all my guests. He has taken all the English nobility, and the best Americans, and all my old Milanese friends. He slanders me up and down the valley, saying that the drains are bad. The hotel keepers will not recommend me; they send on their guests to him, because he pays them five per cent. for every one they send. He pays the drivers, he pays the porters, he pays the guides. He pays the band, so that it hardly ever plays down in the village. He even pays the little children to say my drains are bad. He and his wife and his *concierge*, they mean to ruin me, they would like to see me die."

"Don't—don't say these things, Signora Cantù." Miss Raby began to walk about the room, speaking, as was her habit, what was true rather than what was intelligible. "Try not to be so angry with your son. You don't know what he had to contend with. You don't know who led him into it. Some one else may be to blame. And whoever it may be—you will remember them in your prayers."

"Of course I am a Christian!" exclaimed the angry old lady. "But he will not ruin me. I seem poor, but he has borrowed—too much. That hotel will fail!"

"And perhaps," continued Miss Raby, "there is not much wickedness in the world. Most of the evil we see is the result of little faults—of stupidity or vanity."

"And I even know who led him into it—his wife, and the man who is now his *concierge*——"

"This habit of talking, of self expression—it seems so pleasant and necessary—yet it does harm——"

They were both interrupted by an uproar in the street. Miss Raby opened the window; and a cloud of dust, heavy with petroleum, entered. A passing motor car had

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

twitched over a table. Much beer had been spilt, and a little blood.

Signora Cantù sighed peevishly at the noise. Her ill temper had exhausted her, and she lay motionless, with closed eyes. Over her head two copper vases clinked gently in the sudden gust of wind. Miss Raby had been on the point of a great dramatic confession, of a touching appeal for forgiveness. Her words were ready; her words always were ready. But she looked at those closed eyes, that suffering enfeebled frame; and she knew that she had no right to claim the luxury of pardon.

It seemed to her that with this interview her life had ended. She had done all that was possible. She had done much evil. It only remained for her to fold her hands and to wait, till her ugliness and her incompetence went the way of beauty and strength. Before her eyes there arose the pleasant face of Colonel Leyland, with whom she might harmlessly conclude her days. He would not be stimulating; but it did not seem desirable that she should be stimulated. It would be better if her faculties did close, if the senseless activity of her brain and her tongue was gradually numbed. For the first time in her life, she was tempted to become old.

Signora Cantù was still speaking of her son's wife and *concierge*; of the vulgarity of the former and the ingratitude of the latter, whom she had been kind to long ago, when he first wandered up from Italy, an obscure boy. Now he had sided against her. Such was the reward of charity.

"And what is his name?" asked Miss Raby absently.

"Feo Ginori," she replied. "You would not remember him. He used to carry——"

From the new campanile there burst a flood of sound to which the copper vessels vibrated responsively. Miss Raby lifted her hands, not to her ears but to her eyes. In her enfeebled state, the throbbing note of the bell had the curious effect of blood returning with agony into frozen veins.

"I remember that man perfectly," she said at last; "and I shall see him this afternoon."

(*To be continued.*)

PATRIOTISM AND COMPATRIOTISM ¹

THE character and opinions of Birdofredum Sawin Esq. are among the most successful features of that most successful of political satires: *The Biglow Papers*. And this, no doubt, because Mr. Lowell laid his finger upon one of the most common tendencies of all reactionary movements, viz., the attempt to win credit by masquerading in the guise of progress. Without professing to be quite certain of the inwardness of the prefix "Com," or to be able to distinguish a Patriot from a Compatriot, we may, perhaps, without injustice, having due regard to the pronouncements of the leader of the movement, regard the Compatriotism of the Tariff "Reformers" as a superior or Imperial brand of patriotism—as bearing much the same relation to the humbler kind of patriotism (of which Englishmen are apt to say little and think much) as the celebrated Bird of Freedom of Mr. Sawin and his friends bore to the less flamboyant ideal of liberty cherished by his opponents.

We observe, also, that the same tendency which led Mr. Sawin, after the manner of a Personage who shall be nameless, to enter upon a course of Scriptural exegesis with a view to justify his political principles out of the pages of Holy Writ, has led the most vigorous of the composers of this volume to purge the vocabulary of Free Trade by attaching new meanings to the well-known phraseology which has for long been accepted by all classes of economists as representing certain ideas. Owing to a somewhat unhappy obscurity of language, it is sometimes difficult to

¹ *Compatriots' Club Lectures*. (First Series.) Edited by the Committee of the Compatriots' Club. London: Macmillan & Co., 1905.

PATRIOTISM AND COMPATRIOTISM

know exactly where we are supposed by our new teachers to have erred. Mr. Garvin, for example, tells us (p. 7) that "Protection nowhere means what in this country it is almost universally supposed to mean." This statement is, of course, simply a contradiction in terms ; for, with all respect to Mr. Garvin, a word, especially in the country of its origin, means exactly what it is supposed to mean—*i. e.*, the meaning generally attributed to it. And, while we can understand Mr. Garvin's desire to deprive certain phrases of their eulogistic flavour, which tells so powerfully in aid of his opponents, we do not think it quite fair of him to misrepresent the accepted meaning of others, in order to convict his opponents of errors of which they are not guilty. When, for instance, Mr. Garvin represents the policy of *Laissez-Faire* as a "doctrine of drift," he is simply playing with words. Though we do not personally agree with the school of political philosophers which chose *Laissez-Faire* as its watchword, it is a mere travesty, or, rather, a direct misrepresentation, to assert that the advocates of *Laissez-Faire* preached a "doctrine of drift" (p. 9). They were, most of them at least, men of exceptional vigour, from whose success in organising public opinion even Tariff Reformers might well learn a lesson. Their view was, and there is much to be said for it, that a greater enterprise, a greater concentration of vigour, would be brought to bear towards the attainment of desirable objects, if the organisation of such efforts was left to private initiative, rather than to the control of officials in Downing Street or of politicians in committee-rooms. Like most enthusiasts, they pushed their principles too far—into domains in which they lost their force. But if ever philosophical principle was justified by its results, the principle of *Laissez-Faire* in commerce and industry, *i. e.*, in the amassing of wealth, has been abundantly justified ; for it has rested upon one of the most universal and fundamental of human passions. And as for Mr. Garvin's alternative of Protection as a "doctrine of development," we may, perhaps, be permitted gently to remind him of the immense development effected in the cultivation of tobacco, for example, by the policy of Protection which vigorously stamped out that promising

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

feature of British agriculture in the early seventeenth century. There seems to be no reason why tobacco should not be grown in England as successfully as in North Germany ; and, if the suggestion is sound, our Protectionists simply threw away an asset which might well have proved the salvation of agriculture in the nineteenth century, with a view to securing a monopoly for certain communities which have since ceased to belong to the Empire. The result is, that we now import annually an immense quantity of manufactured articles which we might well be producing at home, and import them, not from our colonies, but, almost entirely, from foreign countries. Is this a result on which a Protectionist can pride himself ?

Like other reactionary movements, too, the present Protectionist movement appears to embrace two distinct classes of advocates. We have, first, the well-meaning but not very clear-headed men who have been persuaded that the movement is calculated to work towards a great ideal—in this case the strengthening of the ties of friendship between the mother-country and her colonies and dependencies. With this class we cannot but heartily sympathise ; we regard them as right in their ends, but mistaken in their means. They are represented in the volume before us by Sir Vincent Caillard, Sir John Cockburn, Mr. H. A. Gwynne, and Dr. Cunningham. Sir Vincent Caillard labours, through several pages, to prove to us that “ the cost of communication between distant portions of the Empire and the Metropolis does not largely outbalance that of communication between distant portions of a great Continental Empire ” (p. 147), and that, therefore, the possibility of closer union is not barred by the magnificent distances which separate one part of the Empire from another. We should have thought that the experience of the ordinary business man would have sufficed to realise the comparative cheapness of sea transport, due mainly to the simple fact that our monopolists have not yet succeeded in grabbing the high seas. We seem also to remember that a certain well-known writer and Liberal thinker, the late Sir John Seeley, put into a dozen words the thesis which Sir Vincent Caillard so laboriously endeavours to build up in many pages of argu-

PATRIOTISM AND COMPATRIOTISM

ment. "It is the sea which unites, the land which divides." But we do not remember that Sir John Seeley advocated the strengthening of the bonds of friendship with our kindred beyond the seas by closing the highways of commerce to the food of our people. And every line that Seeley wrote was instinct with the fine perception of the British Commonwealth as the outcome of great world forces, whose historic development would ill accord with that pedantic regimentation by fussy sciolists, which is, apparently, Sir Vincent Caillard's ideal. Sir Vincent remarks, with an air of profound wisdom, that "bores have been put down in Kellara and Kerribee, in New South Wales" (p. 157). The precise moral to be drawn from this interesting fact does not appear; but, while we have long regarded the Australian colonies as possessing great and varied advantages, we shall always henceforth cherish with peculiar affection, not unmixed with envy, the names of Kellara and Kerribee.

The paper contributed by Dr. Cunningham is certainly in the nature of a surprise, and, therefore, to be welcomed as adding vivacity to the volume. But, as a serious contribution to the efforts of the Tariff Reformers, we cannot but regard it as a curious freak. It is entitled: *Tariff Reform and Political Morality*. The subject certainly required handling, in any book professing to set forth the Higher Aspects of Tariff Reform. For one cannot help feeling that if the Tariff Reformers could, with their great influence in the Press, only succeed in preventing the publication of certain news which, from time to time, travels across the Atlantic, or such interesting revelations as those made by Mr. G. H. Putnam at the symposium of the National Liberal Club last year, they would by that single achievement do more for the cause of so-called Tariff Reform than any amount of missionary enterprise could accomplish. As it is, not the least powerful or worthy section of their opponents is firmly convinced that, in a democratically governed country, Protection and the purity of politics are absolutely incompatible. Dr. Cunningham had, therefore, a task worthy of his powers when he set out to dispel this conviction; and his friends and critics alike must have felt, as they turned to his pages, that here was the *Schwerpunkt* of the controversy.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

With what amazement, then, does the reader discover, that Dr. Cunningham calmly ignores the whole issue. He professes to believe that the average reader is mainly interested in the propriety of the Manifesto of the Professors and the Manifesto of the Theologians. No doubt these matters may well arouse interest in academic and other refined circles. But the average reader is waiting to know how Dr. Cunningham meets the plain fact that, in all protectionist countries, whether inhabited by men of our own blood or by other races, Protection means, in practice, a corrupt legislature and, usually, a corrupt officialdom. And Dr. Cunningham entertains him with pleasant little stories of conversations which took place between himself and his friends on the minor ethics of journalism, and interesting but wholly remote speculations as to the political foresight of Mr. Cobden. Barely does he touch the real issue when he pleads delicately for charity of judgment, and hints that things may not be quite so bad as they seem. This attitude reminds us of the series of timid bleatings wherewith that doughty champion of orthodoxy, Mr. Mallock, strives to drown the leonine roar of Huxley. A more homely simile is to be found in the case of the poor old woman in East London who, having heard (for the first time) the Story of the Crucifixion eloquently preached at a revivalist meeting, and being melted thereby to tears, consoled herself with the pious aspiration : " Well ; lets 'ope it ain't true."

Leaving aside for the present the contributions of the genial ex-Premier of South Australia, and of Mr. Gwynne, whose well-meaning proposals may, as we hope to show later, find their realisation by methods other than those they suggest, we come to deal with the attitude of that other class of Tariff Reform advocates whose real object is, as we read it, not so much the binding together of the Empire, as the establishment of a social and political system the most detestable, both in theory and in practice, which the mind of man has hitherto conceived. Far worse than the military ideal, which, with all its faults, has its noble side, worse even than the theological ideal, which has at least produced saints, if it has also made many martyrs, is the ideal of Plutocracy—the most sordid, the most relentless, the

PATRIOTISM AND COMPATRIOTISM

least inspiring to the higher side of human nature, of all forms of government. That there has long been in England a dangerous tendency towards this ideal, is shown by an interesting historical document recently unearthed by a friend of the writer from the official archives of a southern parish. The document is in the form of a Catechism used habitually in the Sunday school, and inculcated upon the children of the humbler classes as the gospel of social organisation. The following question and answer will show its character—

Q. Why are laws made ?

A. Laws are made to preserve the rich in their possessions, and to restrain the vices of the poor.

This document, with its unconscious testimony to the ideals of our forefathers, may perhaps throw a certain useful light upon the social disturbances of the earlier years of the last century. But it can hardly be doubted, that the immense increase of material wealth in the middle of that century did much to intensify the ideal, though a certain prudence in giving utterance to it was the result of the marked democratic feeling of the same period. This, indeed, has always seemed to us to be the real weakness of the Manchester School, though many of its disciples were better than their creed. But, with the marked reaction of the late nineteenth century, and the enormous growth of individual fortunes resulting from the exploitation of South Africa, a re-statement of the ideal, clothed in the garb of a bastard Imperialism, has evidently been impending. Mr. Chamberlain, for example, in an unguarded moment, gave expression to his dream of a commercial Empire, in which the colonies should be reduced to the position of helots, tilling and mining to fill the capacious maw of England with raw material for her factories and workshops ; but a spirited outburst of indignation, from those units of the Commonwealth which he thus calmly destined to perpetual subordination warned him, that this crude revival of the Mercantile System would not be tolerated for a moment by free and self-governing communities.

His followers have, accordingly, been set to work to

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

instil the poison by subtler methods. Mr. John W. Hills has undertaken to re-write for us the history of the old Colonial System, and to show how a policy which, in the past, led to the revolt of the American colonies, may now safely be adopted as a method of building up the Empire. This is, in fact, the true 'Little England' policy. It sprang from a time at which England was everything, and the colonies nothing. The moment that the colonies approached maturity, it began to generate a friction which speedily culminated in civil war. It was possible in colonies which were largely peopled with deported criminals, whose ruling classes carried on a semi-feudal system based on slave labour. It was always deeply resented by the sturdy colonists of the New England States, whose nascent industries were by it rudely stamped out, and whose first attempts at independent foreign trade were treated as piracy. Walpole wisely relaxed the bonds of a system which he saw was becoming intolerable. His successors attempted to tighten them again ; and the result was the American War.

Mr. Hills will have none of this. He ignores the gradual increase in the list of "enumerated" articles which the greed of English merchants and the exigencies of English revenue administrators brought about. He alludes only in the obscurest way (p. 277) to the monstrous legislation by which the manufacture of iron was prohibited in the colonies, even to the extent of ordering mills and forges to be destroyed as common nuisances. He tries to underestimate the notorious restrictions imposed upon the colonial felt and hat manufacture, by describing the latter as a "not very important industry," despite the fact that his Compatriot, Dr. Cunningham, in his pre-Compatriot days, had characterised it, in his well-known *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, as "a flourishing trade."¹ But does he not see that the precise amount of the present material injury inflicted is a small matter in such a case? Was it to be supposed that the descendants of the men who had faced the hardships of the Atlantic rather than submit to loss of spiritual freedom, would tamely submit to loss of economic freedom? And can Mr. Garvin really suppose that his

¹ Vol. II. p. 329.

PATRIOTISM AND COMPATRIOTISM

system of 'constructive economics' (which is only another name for wire-pulling by interested lobbyists), with its vexatious interferences and its pettifogging assumption of omniscience in the manifold complexities of a world-wide commerce, would be received one whit more tamely by the colonists of to-day?

The truth is, that each of the great strides made by England in the path of industrial development has been preceded, not by the establishment of an elaborate restrictive machinery, but by the striking off of those fetters which privilege and monopoly had laid upon the springs of industry. Once, when the monasteries were dissolved, and the grip of senile decay was loosed from the fairest land in the country; again, when the Puritans broke the power of Strafford and Laud, with its inquisitorial harassing of human energy; again, when the wisdom of Walpole removed the restraints with which the Chartered Companies and the municipalities, the revenue laws and the medieval labour system, were choking the free course of trade; finally, when the repeal of the Corn Laws and the protective duties on commerce broke the power of the landowners and removed the studied obstruction of the revenue officials—then, in each of these cases, the nation, like a hound unleashed, sprang forward upon its triumphant career.

What the plutocratic ideal of the neo-Protectionist school involves, may be still more clearly seen from the effort in 'constructive economics' attempted by another contributor to this volume. Mr. Garvin has shown his attitude towards the humbler members of the community with tolerable clearness, in describing Trade Unions as a means whereby labour is enabled "to wrest from capital a maximum per-centage of our gross profits" (p. 4). His enthusiasm for the capitalist has even led him into metaphysical language. He describes capital as "the creative element in national industry" (p. 41). Now one kind of capital, that which is invested in machinery and plant generally, is obviously incapable of any active force; it can only be valuable as an instrument of labour. The other kind, known as "floating capital," is valuable because it represents, and only so far as it represents, the possible

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

application of human energy, which is, indubitably, the creative element in national industry. In fact, Mr. Garvin's little excursus into economic metaphysics reminds us irresistibly of the well-known juvenile definition of metaphysics generally. "You fink, and you fink, and you fink awfully. And then you say: 'Yes, two and two's *about* five.'"

Mr. H. W. Wilson is still more outspoken. He proposes to transfer the cost of a greatly increased army to the shoulders of the general public, of whom, it must be remembered, an immense majority consists of people with whom any increase of taxation, direct or indirect, means a diminution of the necessities of life. His method is the usual one adopted by the advocates of a vast military system. He sets up an arbitrary standard to which, in his opinion, we ought to conform. Then, by a highly artificial and unverified process of calculation, he shows, to his own satisfaction, how much we fall below it. He next proceeds to invoke the usual scares of foreign invasion and the possibility of starvation in time of war, owing to the assumed inability of our navy to guard our shores and our commerce. And from these "facts" (which are not facts at all, but assumptions) he deduces the necessity for an immense increase in military expenditure.

We imagine that Mr. Balfour's recent declaration will have done much to knock the bottom out of invasion scares; and we shall prefer to rest our conclusions as to the dangers of a shortage in the food supply on the forthcoming Report of the Royal Commission—merely observing, that certain very remarkable recent discoveries in the physiology of food-assimilation, and in the chemistry of horticulture, may solve the problem in a manner hitherto undreamt of. Our object is to draw attention to a difficulty which Mr. Wilson himself obviously feels in making his proposals. There are always plenty of people to advocate an increase of military expenditure; for there are always many people who profit by it. It is one of the ugliest features of war, that there are people who make gigantic fortunes out of the sufferings of their fellow-countrymen and the losses of their country. But these people have mostly very shrewd

PATRIOTISM AND COMPATRIOTISM

heads for business ; and they realise that half the charm of the situation is gone, if they have to contribute to the fund out of which they are paid. To anticipate their objections, Mr. Wilson has a delightful proposal for what he calls "spreading the burdens of taxation" (p. 137). He admits, reluctantly, that, even with our present very inadequate military expenditure (as it seems to him), murmurs are beginning to be heard. And he explains this mystery by the discovery (p. 117) that "in 1860, before the abolition of a large number of customs duties, the middle and upper classes had not to bear so heavy a load." That is to say, the chief burden of armaments in those halycon days fell on the poverty-stricken masses. And to this Golden Age Mr. Wilson, of course, proposes to return. The "piling up of charges on the propertied class" is to cease. Proposals for a graduated income-tax, for the taxation of ground values, for the increase of the Liquor and Death Duties, are waved aside as the dreams of speculative idealists ; and we are bidden to raise the £24,000,000 required for the maintenance of the army by the imposition of duties on foreign manufactures and a "five per cent. tax" (we assume that Mr. Wilson means an import duty) on food products. It is a charming picture : the capitalist sitting comfortably on the necks of the labouring classes, and defending himself from foreign attack, and (it may be) from internal revolt, by a gigantic army maintained at the expense of the poor. This is indeed to realise the ideal of that eminent political philosopher to whom we have previously referred, and who boasted of belonging to a community—

"Where niggers doos a double good, with us a'top to
stiddy 'em,
By bein' proofs o' prophecy an' suckleatin' medium."

We only wonder whether the British elector will see it in this light, or whether it will gradually dawn upon him that there is a certain class in this country which was once invested with a great part of one of the most valuable assets of the community—an asset which has since increased enormously in value by reason of the labour of the community—upon the express condition of providing for the

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

military needs of the community. Like a good many other holders of offices, the landlord class has gradually contrived to shift the greater part of its duties on to the shoulders of other people, while enormously increasing its emoluments. The whole of the cost of the army ought to be provided for by Schedule A of the Income Tax ; and that Schedule ought to be revised in such a way as to make it rest entirely on the unimproved value of the land.

The real truth is, that the so-called Tariff Reformers are engaged in the occupation, so fascinating to human nature in all ages, so hopeless of achievement, of trying to serve God and Mammon at the same time. With some of them the former object is the real end, the latter only the mistaken means. With others the latter is the real object, the former only the pretext. We are very far from asserting that all is well with our industrial organisation. But the real problem is the problem of Distribution, not the problem of Production. Free Trade has solved the problem of production ; it has not solved the problem of distribution. But neither will Protection solve it. Let us hear what *The Outlook*, an ably-conducted organ, which certainly cannot be accused of hostility to the Tariff Reformers, has to say of a country, in many respects more like our own than any other, where Protection has been at work for half a century.

“ We forget that the dominant spirit of America is the high Toryism of the days when tenant-right was landlord-wrong, and trade unions comfortably illegal. We forget that it is in America that Capital has reached its highest power of influence and control. We forget that under ‘government by injunction’ a judge may first make a law, then decide without the help of a jury whether it has been broken, and finally punish any breach of it as contempt of Court at his unlimited discretion ; and that practically he brings the whole power of the law and the State militia to quell any disturbance, or the slightest prospect of a disturbance, in any company that is threatened with a strike. We forget that in all

PATRIOTISM AND COMPATRIOTISM

that concerns the rights and status of Labour America is where we were forty or fifty years ago, and that labour troubles automatically develop, as they used to with us, into a species of civil war.”¹

Such is the goal to which Tariff Reform would lead us at home. Such is not the goal to which we desire to be led. To that policy we oppose a policy which aims at securing a juster distribution of the wealth of the country, and a juster distribution of the burdens of the State. To this end must the action of the State be directed ; for it is not an end which can safely be left to the individualist forces of competition. We need a more equitable system of taxation ; but it will not be found in legalised corruption. It will be found in measures which render monopoly impossible, or at least unprofitable, which will make the heaviest burdens fall, not on those least able to resist them, but on those best able to bear them. We need State action which shall strike at the root of monopoly, whether in land, or means of transport, or education, or public services. We need State action which shall set free the fettered intelligence of the masses, by providing abundant means of self-improvement and encouragement for humble enterprise. We need a stern enforcement of the laws of health in the dealings of employer with employed. We need increased facilities for wholesome popular recreation. We need a broader conception of the duties of citizenship. We need to learn, in a word, that patriotism does not consist in a bitter jealousy of the prosperity of other nations, and an aggressive desire to forestall them in the markets of the world, but in a passionate striving after social justice.

Nor is this ideal in the least inconsistent with the hope that means may be found to strengthen the bonds which unite us to our fellow-citizens beyond the narrow seas. Rather does it lead on to the realisation of that hope, if only we approach our end by wholesome and just methods. To the “Imperial” spirit which would force upon the colonies our preconceived ideas of a fiscal system, we would oppose the spirit of comradeship, which would take them

¹ *Outlook*. May 20, 1905, p. 707.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

into council, and labour with them for the common good. To the arbitrary complications of an "Imperial" tariff, designed by an irresponsible ring of interested capitalists, we would oppose some statesmanlike and temperate plan of common counsel such as that put forward by Sir Frederick Pollock in his paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute in April last. There are in the plan there suggested a moderation, a sense of the difficulties of the situation, combined with a wholesome optimism, which are in striking contrast with the jaunty empiricism of the Tariff Reform League. It recognises that we have much to learn from the statesmen of our colonies, as they have, doubtless, much to learn from us. Above all, it recognises that present conditions are the outcome of historical causes, of great movements of thought and feeling which it is the statesman's task to guide and foster, not to repress. By some such plan as this, and not by any artificial system of tariff-mongering in a committee room, will the great problem of national unity be solved, if it is ever solved, and the united wisdom of the Empire be brought to bear upon the questions which so deeply affect the future of our race.

For the cardinal sin of the Tariff Reformers is this: that they forget, or have never realised, that ours is a great and historic Empire, drawing its sustenance from the width of its interests, its vitality from the freedom which it allows to its members, its solidity from the ties of friendship which, as Dr. Cunningham himself puts it, "bind men and women in very humble homes with distant parts of the Empire." To them we would commend another opinion of the same writer, that "the tie created by mutual economic dependence is not proof against more than a slight strain" (p. 315). And when they threaten, as in more than one passage of this volume they do, in thinly veiled language, that the capitalist, if he does not get his own way, will shake from his shoes the dust of an ungrateful country, we reply: By all means let him do it. Let him carry his ideas, and his vaunted capital, to another kind of Empire, the "Empire," for example, of M. Jacques Lebaudy.

EDWARD JENKS

THE AUTHOR OF "JOHN INGLESANT"¹

THE contrast between outward circumstances and inner interests and enthusiasms was never more marked than in the life of the author of *John Inglesant*. And this contrast extended far deeper than the mere superficial incongruities which this life and correspondence have once again emphasised. These indeed were sufficiently remarkable. Joseph Shorthouse was a manufacturer of vitriol. His working occupation, however, appears as cleanly cut off from his actual living interests, except in the illness of his last days, when he was haunted by visions and noises of the sulphate of soda furnaces. He spent practically the whole of his life in Birmingham—that Birmingham through which Burne-Jones had grown to manhood in a region "starved of beauty," a land of dust and thorns. Most of his days were passed, indeed, not only in Birmingham, but in a Birmingham suburb. There were occasional little shy excursions to Landudno, Bath, the Isle of Wight, and other genteel resorts. But the author of one novel of Italy, and another of Germany, never crossed the Channel.

These surroundings of the birth of romance are, however, but the accidents of time and place. Camberwell—the Camberwell of early Victorian England—produced Ruskin and Browning as well as Mr. Joseph Chamberlain; and, within a stone's throw of Mr. Shorthouse's home at Edgbaston, was dwelling for nearly half a century the English writer and thinker most entirely antipathetic to all that modern Birmingham and its leader stands for in the progress of mankind. The queer revelation, however, of this correspondence is of a mind, not only a place and occu-

¹ *J. H. Shorthouse, Life and Letters*. 2 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1905.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

pation, in many respects extraordinarily difficult to identify with the spirit of *John Inglesant* and its less important successors. The writer of many of these letters is shown in that particularly exasperating state of mind which exhibits a "culture" self-conscious and alert, despising the deficiency of others. It is the "culture" of the rarer type of Extension student. "Culture" leads him from dissent into the Anglican Church : culture keeps him proudly apart from the noisy welter of Birmingham and its drains and politics. Culture leads him to despise (in one breath) "coffee-houses, Sunday Schools, Liberal organisations" (all good things, he adds, in their way). The result of such an attitude is to convey a sense of oppression, as of the society of a Cathedral city. "Choice," "helpful," "gratifying" are the prevailing adjectives of approval. A visit to some friends is one statement "gave us an insight into the social life of Bath which was refreshing." The soul refreshed by the social life of Bath might indeed be forgiven if haunted by visions of sulphate of soda at the end. Meeting with literary men at a London reception after the success of *John Inglesant* is found "most gratifying." That "good women of the highest culture have been so pleased with *John Inglesant*," the author testifies to Lady Welby, is an "unspeakable gratification." In discussion he confesses to being "rather warm" about "Birmingham culture." "The continual ridiculous self-laudation of the dominant Birmingham party" is "itself a complete exposure of their claims to culture."

This somewhat pathetic aspiration of one born in black surroundings, came more and more together round the atmosphere of Anglican ideals, that particular product of a limited aristocratic tradition which, in its deficiencies and excellences, has been characteristic of the Church established in England since the Reformation. Mr. Shorthouse was delighted with the services of his parish Church, of which, during many years, he was churchwarden. He was deeply disturbed by such momentous events as a change of vicar. "To one who always valued the services of the Church," writes his wife, "a change of vicar could never be a matter of indifference ; and it was an untold comfort to him, and

THE AUTHOR OF "JOHN INGLESANT"

to all the congregation, when the Rev. Cresswell Strange accepted the living." Excitement reached its height at the approach of a bishop. The "venerable and beloved" Bishop of Worcester is entertained on "June 14th, 1874." His "conversation was delightful"; and "his eyes filled with tears as he spoke of the Prince Consort." In 1875, again, the Bishop of St. Andrews arrives. "He came to us on Saturday and stayed till the following Tuesday. Kingly in person, courtly in manner, of high scholarship and exalted position in the Church, he was a most affable and kindly guest." "At parting the Bishop thanked Mr. Shorthouse warmly for the pleasure of his conversation."

These and similar entries build up the impression of an atmosphere of courtesy, dignity, kindliness, simplicity, of an old-world vanished society, in which the religion (as in Shorthouse's Introduction to George Herbert) is the religion of the gentleman, and bishop and vicar accept their rightful positions in the divinely-arranged social hierarchy. Mr. Shorthouse was probably the first vitriol manufacturer to exhibit an ardent devotion to the Church of England as by law established. Outside the pale, lay Dissenters and Romanists—lost in the darkness of their own devices. "I never reason with Roman Catholics," is the verdict upon the one, "they live in a fairy land of their own." "I know little of Vaughan," he writes concerning the other, "but should not recommend him. He was a Dissenter; and I am sure that none such can properly grasp the synthesis which unites the Catholic and the mystic." And of Dr. Forsyth's criticism of Wagner and German art, "he is naturally somewhat in a fog" is the placid announcement, "being a Dissenter."

Nor do the literary judgments of this *Life and Letters* yield any evidence of that refined and delicate taste which must have matured the refined and delicate workmanship of his one great book. Thought at once turns to his great neighbour at Edgbaston, as if some infection of that marvellous and appealing style had strayed over the dividing gardens and passed into the making of the romance of *John Inglesant*. But the letters reveal a fundamental antipathy. "Nothing about him interests me very much," is Short-

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

house's dismal confession, "except the *Grammar of Assent* as a wonderful effort of logical chicanery." Wordsworth, indeed, is the great source of inspiration, "and constant companion, consoler, and friend." But Shorthouse wept over Kipling's stories, and held that Balzac must have hated his own novels. A letter to Mr. Gosse concerning the latter's poems *On Viol and Flute*, is almost a monument of infelicitous criticism. The critic, desirous, evidently, of praising the work of his friend, tells him eagerly how "almost every poem reminds me of some great poet; one recalls Tennyson's *St. Agnes*; another, Swinburne; a third "what you say you get in Donne"; a fourth "Longfellow at his best"! Later judgments of books as they appear are far more a part of this timid, limited tradition of aristocracy and piety than of that personality concealed beneath the reticence and narrow outlook, which had revealed itself in one expression of a world of vast depths and tides of the spirit. Each work is approved and condemned as congruous or antagonistic to this accepted scheme of life. Those which make for disturbance, the outbreak of revolt, the expressions of protest and passion, the appeal of unbelief for sincerity, are everywhere condemned. "He hated the *vulgarity* of our own age: its pretensions and pretentiousness, its self-assertion and want of reticence, its bustle and its fussiness."

Yet, in some fashion still unrevealed, this honest manufacturer of Birmingham, with his courteous old-fashioned ways and simple secluded life, had journeyed far through the huge subterranean caverns of the soul's pilgrimage; had seen clearly in waking hours the vision which in general is revealed only in broken gleams of troublous sleep; had visited hell and heaven, and could tell of the hazardous journey to the one and the other, and the strange things revealed to the traveller. For ten years he lived, through the leisured hours of secure, suburban England, in the midst of the hot passionate life of Italy and England two hundred years ago. He saw, from the villa residence and the trim well-swept paths, the conflict of faiths and pleasures, rioting at Urbino and Florence, plague and carnival, the world as a procession full of colour and dim splendours, passing to the

THE AUTHOR OF "JOHN INGLESANT"

sound of music. But the "romance" is far more than a reconstruction of the imagery and eager life of a vanished time. It is an expression through the medium of historic incident of things everlastingly alive. There is no evidence, in this *Life and Letters*, of any large spiritual upheavals and changes in the life history of the author. From a Quaker upbringing, he passed early to membership in the Anglican communion; and there, it would appear, remained satisfied for the remainder of his days. But, in the work through which found expression, all his heart's desire, the accidents of time and place, of security itself, vanish before the vision of the soul, naked, alone, wandering in a world of tangled purposes and full of inexplicable happenings. The child from the beginning is troubled with doubt as to the meaning of existence. "Where am I?" "What is the meaning of it all?" "Of what significance is this strange world of external things which is both me and not me, in some fashion part of my being, in another outside, independent of my will and desires, controlled by laws and reactions of its own?" The boy, as he grows to manhood, finds life still further complicated by the introduction of man's purposes, the will of others and of the race, large movements of secular change, chafing and curbing his own activities, driving him along courses which he would fain avoid, towards ends he cannot foresee. He resists temptation and fails; he resists and succeeds. He is now of one faith, now of another. He confronts loss and longing, death with its unanswered questions, the dead in their piteous silence. He learns from many teachers, gathering from all, but at heart alone, pursuing through time and the tragic drama of man's history his own quest of the single heart and apprehension of the meaning and purpose of it all. Such apprehension at the last is attained, if not in complete knowledge and triumph, at least in a certain security; when, at the end, the man who has seen and endured so many things can tell to those coming after, from the heart of an experience of the heights and depths that are in man, something of a message of endurance and serenity, the sadness not unmingled with the splendour of sunset, as the final verdict of it all.

It was this magic power which gave *John Inglesant* its

instant success, which attracted both the great antagonists Huxley and Gladstone, and will insure it a permanent if modest position in English literature. "My *own* reading of the book," says the author himself, "is that God prefers culture to fanaticism." Few, certainly, of its first or later admirers would have guessed this is even as a subsidiary purpose. But, to some minds, the book will occupy always a position by the side of *Sartor* and *Walden* and *Marius*: not indeed as challenging their supreme literary excellence, but as presenting one particular experience of a spiritual illumination, the revelation, as in the sudden intimacy of a friend's confession, of an experience, a challenge, and a hope, before regarded as a peculiar and secret possession of an isolated, solitary soul.

To discover the author of *John Inglesant* in the gentle old-fashioned kindly English gentleman of these *Letters*, is no easy task. Only an occasional outburst reveals the man who has voyaged, in Carlyle's phrase, not to Margate sands, but beyond the bounds of the habitable world. Everywhere he finds the Sacramental principle, the symbolism of form colour, a clue to the meaning of an unintelligible world. The vision of field and flower, all the riotous impression of the senses was for him but a veil behind which moved and worked the Divine energy. Such energy became gathered up in one act of supreme worship, in that Sacred Feast of the Church, which gave him the key to all the mysteries. His language was elusive and vague concerning the "facts" of dogmatic religion; and he troubled and somewhat saddened many of his orthodox admirers by allusions to the "myths" of Christianity and the unimportance of deliberate statement concerning any past event or the nature of the origins. "Once convinced by personal intercourse that Jesus lives and is Divine," he wrote to an Agnostic, "it is a matter of complete indifference in exactly what way the revelation of His Person and character was originally made to, and is at present understood and received amongst, men." Philosophy, he held, "breaks down at night." And, despite much that saddened him in the courses of modern things, the "cataclysm such as the world never saw," which

FRENZIED FINANCE

he thought was at hand, his ultimate faith remained unclouded, that "the power which won the world must still have some force." "As a very little child," he writes in a rare moment of self-revelation to the present Bishop of Southwark, "I used to be in the summer mornings watching the fleeting clouds and *feeling* God near. So it has ever been. God always! God everywhere! If I have done anything, if I have said anything that has been a help to others—God, God alone! All that He does is right."

C. F. G. MASTERMAN

FRENZIED FINANCE¹

THE American financier is a fine, upstanding, simple, manly fellow. Like Mr. Gilbert's burglar, he has a tender heart when not actually engaged in business. Nay, Mr. Thomas W. Lawson, who ought to know, will have it that even his operations on the Stock Exchange may be dictated by the purest spirit of charity. Mr. Lawson, one day, received the following letter from the wife of one who had staked his all on a rise in sugar, "Mr. Lawson, you will put sugar up? You surely will just this once! And we will teach the children to pray for you and yours, and God answers this kind of prayer, you know He does." Mr. Lawson could not resist the appeal. He put sugar up. How many other wives he reduced, by this operation, to a similar mood of pious faith, does not appear. It is "certain" that he netted for himself "an estimated snug profit of \$250,000 or more within two hours." But it was not that that pleased him. No! When he has leisure to indulge in a vacant or pensive mood, it is the following scene that flashes on his inward eye.

"I see a big manly fellow, president of a bank now and asking no odds of any, for he can buy 2000 shares of sugar at any time and draw his cheque to

¹ *The Chapters that have gone before of "Frenzied Finance."* By Thomas W. Lawson of Boston. Reprinted from *Everybody's Magazine*. The Ridgway-Thayer Company: New York, 1904.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

pay for it against a bank account honestly earned, since the day his wife wrote that letter. And I see a grateful mother teaching three youths to say a certain prayer. And then I forget the critics' scathing sermons against stock-gamblers; and it does not pain me when my own children ask: 'Why do they say such awful things about the stock operators?' And I answer: 'Oh, they mean no harm; they don't know the stock-gambler they write about.'"

How careful we ought to be! "These unscrupulous men," we may have said in our haste, "stick at nothing." But Mr. Lawson does stick—he tells us so—at bribing legislators and judges. Why? one wonders. But the human heart is unsearchable! Again, these gamblers, we may have supposed, are devoid of all sense of honour. But let us undeceive ourselves. Here, for example, is an episode in an interview between Mr. Lawson and Mr. Henry H. Rogers of the 'Standard Oil.'

"We sat within a few feet of each other and I looked squarely into his eyes as he said: 'You have my word for it.' And they were honest eyes—honest as the ten-year-old boy's who, with legs apart and hands in pockets, throws his head back and says: 'Wait until I am a man, and I will do it if I die for it!' I looked into them, and I knew 'My word for it' was all gold, and a hundred cents to the dollar. For a minute we looked steadily into—through—each other; and I knew he was reading away into the back of my head. Inwardly I said: 'If I do business with this man for a day or for a lifetime, I will never face him and say one thing and do another.' And in the years after, when we did millions upon millions of business, with only each other's word for a bond of fair treatment, not once did I depart from the letter of my resolution."

Sad, then, that these very articles were written mainly to ruin Mr. Henry H. Rogers. But that was not Mr. Lawson's fault. No! It was due to "a foul act of

FRENZIED FINANCE

perjury" on Mr. Rogers' part, the nature of which is chivalrously concealed from us. Such accidents will occur. But no one after this will deny the old proverb that "there is honour among thieves."

Enough, perhaps, has been said to indicate the wealth of interest that lies enshrined in this unpretending volume. Enough, also, to illustrate the author's literary style. The financier writes, as he acts and speaks, straight from the shoulder. His language is American, not English. And, to show how expressive it can be, we venture upon one more short citation. In the terrific battle between Mr. Rogers and Mr. Lawson, which preceded the interview described above, Mr. Rogers, we are told, "came into the open by issuing a proclamation over his own signature which gave me the lie, at the same time tearing off a yard or two of my skin, and throwing on a bucket of brine to remind me I had lost it." These things cannot be said in English, perhaps because they cannot be done in England. We have much to learn. But it is a consolation to reflect that we are rapidly learning it.

Mr. Lawson's book will suggest different reflections to different minds. Some will laugh, some will weep, some be astonished, others, perhaps, indignant. For my own part, after reading it through, I went to sleep. And my sub-conscious self served me up in my dreams the following fragment from a historian of the future.

"By the close of the nineteenth century, the force of competition, hailed at its first liberation as a herald of untold blessings to mankind, had begun to reveal its true character and effects. Driven by that pitiless energy, the workers of every rank, from the labourer with his hands to the director of world-enterprises, had put off all but the semblance of humanity, to become cogs and wheels in the great engine of industry. A panic fear, the obverse of which was a blind cupidity, had taken the place of every other motive. To stop for a moment, to look round, to reflect, almost to breathe, was to be caught and mangled in the revolving gear. Not to succeed was worse than disgrace; it was annihilation. And of success the only proof

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

and argument was money. To make money, then, became the sole end of all human activity. And that which originally was but the symbol of a precarious security, came, by a singular perversity, to be preferred even to the thing it symbolised. No occupation was now pursued for the sake of its own satisfactions. Nor, indeed, under the conditions then prevailing, was any occupation worth such pursuit. The minute sub-division of labour, the pressure under which it was performed, the feverish monotony, the wear and tear, the strain for ever unrelieved, had expelled from every business and pursuit its humane and ennobling elements. To maintain life, not to live, was the universal pre-occupation. The arts which depend on imagination, on leisure, on delight in the act of creation, were displaced by new and monstrous forms of the art of money-making. Literature was expelled by journalism, painting by photography, music by the grammophone and the infant prodigy. The flood of perverse cupidity, rising as the pressure of competition increased, finally invaded the summits of society ; till at last the lawyer pleaded, the physician practised, the statesman planned, not for the ends of justice, health, or public security, but for rewards meted out in terms of currency.

“In such a society, it was inevitable that those who controlled the course of money should also control the destinies of mankind. In form, the institutions of the twentieth century were democratic ; but in fact it was a plutocracy that governed. The new conditions had produced a new breed of tyrants, whose power was none the less absolute that it was concealed by constitutional fictions. These men were an epitome of their age ; and it will be worth while to linger for a moment over their more salient characteristics. Never has a type more extraordinary been elevated to power by the vices and follies of mankind. In other ages of history there have been men who, by the accident of birth, or by the unscrupulous use of intelligence and force, have made themselves masters of a people to serve their own ends. But such men, even while they have abused their power, have been aware that it was a public trust ; and, if they have ruined a nation, have at least known what it was that they were doing. But the

FRENZIED FINANCE

despots of the twentieth century, incredible as it may appear, honestly believed that, in disposing of the destinies of the world, they were responsible only to their own purses. The weal and woe of millions were to them negligible episodes in the manipulation of stocks and shares. They hardly adverted to it as they handled their securities. Blind to moral issues, in proportion as they were clair-voyant in their own interest, narrow in their outlook, in proportion as they were intense, as feeble in intellect as they were strong in intelligence, as imbecile of soul as they were virile of will, they thrived in a medium exhausted of culture, of humanity, of ideas, but vibrating with the tense and nervous life of terror-engendering greed. Gamblers by profession, they would sometimes permit the love of the game to override even the cupidity by which it was sustained. Robbers, with the whole world for their field, they were yet capable of curious freaks of generosity. Too stupid, and too little cultivated, to be able to appraise the discrepancy between their way of life and their conventional standards, they would dispense charity with one hand while they disseminated ruin with the other, pass with all the consciousness of virtue from the Stock Exchange to the Sunday School, and, after a day spent in driving to despair, madness, or suicide, hundreds and thousands of their fellow creatures, retire, with a sense of time well-spent, to the bosoms of their families, there to enjoy the repose which is the privilege of the irresponsible private citizen. Nor was this all. Not only in the region of economics, in that of politics also they were supreme. They dictated laws, they determined international relations. For every abuse in which money was involved—and in what abuse was it not?—they secured the sanction and defence of the public authority. The wars of the twentieth century, more destructive than any that history can recall, may be traced directly to their machinations. To exploit a mine, they would exterminate a nation of aborigines; to increase a dividend, they would deluge the civilised world with blood. Though all men else were ruined, they never failed to emerge with profit. The world fought their battles; and they divided the spoil.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

“ A situation so extraordinary must, it may be supposed, have excited the astonishment and the indignation of contemporaries. But it is the strangest point of this strange history, that no one appears to have even perceived, much less to have resented, what was going on before his eyes. Nor will this be matter for surprise, when it is recollected, that the financier was the typical and distinctive product of his age. What he was, everybody wished to become. His cupidity was fed by the universal cupidity of mankind. His very victims were those who armed him with the power to destroy them. Because all men sought money, and nothing but money, therefore by money the world was ruled. The financier was but the minister of this blind force. He was the dread symbol of the passion that governed all men alike, and of that symbol, just because it so intimately expressed themselves, they were unable to discern the significance. All that, to us, of a later age, appears incredible and monstrous, presented itself to them as natural, appropriate, and inevitable. They bore willingly the yoke which had become part of their own substance ; and acquiesced cheerfully in abuses which they imagined to be essential to human nature.

“ Thus envisaged, the matter for marvel is, not that the evil was tolerated, but that it ever came to be perceived and destroyed. But destroyed it was ; and it is the history of that revolution, the most remarkable recorded in the annals of humanity, that is to occupy our attention in the succeeding pages.”

But here, alas ! the fragment ends. For at this point I awoke.

G. LOWES DICKINSON

** * * It is desirable that no contributions should be sent without previous communications with the Editor, who cannot undertake to return unsolicited MSS.*

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THE
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VOL. VI. NO. 23

AUG. 1905

CONTENTS

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

**THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE
GENERAL ELECTION**

PHILIP SNOWDEN

LIBERAL INTOLERANCE

D. G. LATHBURY

RURAL ENGLAND FROM WITHIN

E. F. BULMER

THE NEWEST PHILOSOPHY

G. LOWES DIKINSON

JAPANESE EDUCATION

BARON BUYEMATSU

ON MAKING HAY

HILAIRE BELLOO

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

(Conclusion)

E. M. FORSTER

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VOL. 1, No. 1, CONTAINS

Map of British Isles, showing Universities and Colleges	<i>Frontispiece</i>
The University Movement—Introductory Note	Ht. Hon. James Bryce, M.P.
Universities and Examinations	Prof. Arthur Schuster
Shakspeare and Stoicism	Prof. E. A. Sonnenschein
Questions for Discussion	Sir Oliver Lodge
Malaria and a Moral	Prof. Ronald Ross
The Education of the Citizen	Prof. Churton Collins
Foreign University Correspondence: France	Mons. L. Fichou
The Universities: Aberdeen, Birmingham, Cambridge, Dublin, Durham (Newcastle), Edinburgh, Glasgow, Ireland (Royal University), Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Oxford, St. Andrews (Portrait of Principal Donaldson), Wales	
University Colleges: Bristol, Reading, Sheffield.	General University News
Review: Sociological Society Papers	T. R. Marr, M.A.
Some Recent Publications	

NOW READY The JULY Number of

THE UNIVERSITY REVIEW

VOL. 1, No. 3. CONTENTS

The John Harvard Memorial Window	<i>Frontispiece</i>
The Training of Architects	Prof. C. H. Reilly
The American Professor and His Salary	H. W. Horwill
The Pronunciation and the Teaching of Greek	J. Gennadius
Universities, Schools, and Examinations	P. J. Hartog
Memorial Notice: The Rev. Canon Farrar	
Foreign University Correspondence: France	M. Ludovic Fichou
Germany	<i>The University of Göttingen</i>
United States of America	

University Extension

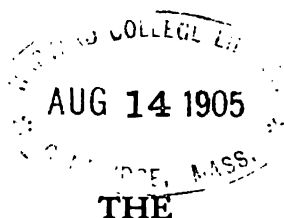
The Universities

University Colleges: University College, Bristol (with photo), Queen's College, Cork, etc., etc.

Notes and Comments.

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INDEPENDENT REVIEW

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

IF the session closes with the Government still in power, which, in spite of recent events, seems probable, there is no doubt that it will be contrary to the hopes or anticipations formed by men of all Parties at its commencement. It is the triumph of Mr. Balfour's skill. It is in no way due to Mr. Chamberlain, except in so far as he has passively acquiesced in his own parliamentary extinction. It is clear that the part played by the Premier has been extremely clever and successful—for immediate purposes. But it has been a game which we are inclined to think will be more fatal to Conservative prospects at the election than even the first period of Mr. Balfour's rule. His Premiership was inaugurated by a period of daring re-action. While he alienated members and even classes, he won the support of great interests also. And it would be idle to deny that a Premier, who has helped the Church of England, the brewers, and the shareholders of the gold-fields, as Mr. Balfour has done, will find his reward in the same sort of confidence from the great vested interests which gave Lord Salisbury his supremacy. But it is harder to see where the gain to himself or his Party lies in the present policy of trickery and sham legislation. It is a bad reputation for a political leader to get in England, that he is a mere lover of office. The feeling that we are governed by a clique, headed by a clever man, who does not in the least care how mediocre the abilities of his fellow Ministers may be, is

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

gaining ground. Straightforward men resent the blundering, the excuses, the manœuvres, which constitute the whole policy of the Premier. On the other hand he gains no adherents. By-elections go worse for him than ever. For who would change his Party or even stiffen his allegiance in gratitude for an Aliens Bill or such a Redistribution Scheme as that withdrawn a fortnight ago?

The Aliens Bill has passed. But before the last closure in Committee the Tory party in the House of Commons had lost all interest in it. They had discovered, what its opponents found out a year ago, that it had no electioneering value. But this was never brought home to their minds until the Labour members, headed by Mr. Wilson of Durham, spent a couple of evenings in pouring ridicule on its provisions and denunciation on its persecuting character. So faint had the support of the Bill become, that, on the last day of the Committee, Mr. Balfour accepted an amendment permitting victims of religious persecution to come in in spite of their poverty—a proposal which had been denounced a few weeks ago as inadmissible by the Protectionists. As the majority of the poor Jews coming at present are flying from Russian intolerance, it is extremely likely that the trivial number which might have been excluded by the Bill as introduced will be diminished by half. Yet the East London Protectionists hardly dared protest, for fear of losing the Bill. Never has the bolder course of sticking to principle been more fully vindicated. It is more than likely that, if the Opposition leaders had joined in the attack, what with the futile character of the proposals, the helpless incompetence of the Home Secretary, and the assault of the Labour members, the Government would have dropped the Bill. We hope they will read the lesson aright. Mr. Sydney Buxton may be pitied for the apparent electioneering difficulty out of which he had not the courage to struggle. But it was most unfortunate that the whole front bench should have been "Poplarised," and the Bill allowed to become law, in order to save the seat of its weakest member.

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

When the session had reached a stage at which, to use Mr. Balfour's curious language, "Parliamentary days were worth their weight in gold," the Government chose to unearth an almost forgotten principle and insist upon cumbrous homage being paid to it by a crowd of unwilling worshippers. The Cabinet can no longer conscientiously submit to the existence of electoral anomalies which mar the symmetry of a system believed to be based on equality of representation. In other words, a Party which came into existence as the defender of English institutions against the attacks of revolutionary ideas, has now determined to sacrifice its last man in the cause of the most famous of all those revolutionary doctrines against which it has sworn eternal enmity. When such a complete change of front occurs without ostensible reason, the most unsuspicious of observers must look for ulterior motives. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find that, in Mr. Balfour's Memorandum, the doctrine of Equality assumes a curious shape. It may be summarised in the formula : 18,500 borough residents = 65,000 county residents. This is, in itself, a sufficiently surprising doctrine for a Party whose boast until lately it was, that it represented the solid worth of agriculture as against the unhealthy excitement of the urban crowd. The mystery deepens when it is realised, that the result of all this elaborate manipulation and calculation is to effect a displacement of less than 10 per cent. in English representation, of exactly 10 per cent. in Welsh, and of less than 9 per cent. in Scottish, leaving the one gross anomaly of the smaller boroughs almost untouched. It is only when we come to consider the effect of the proposals on Ireland that light breaks in. In Ireland, we find, there is to be a total displacement of nearly 24 per cent. And, when the nature of the displacement is taken into account, the injustice is seen to be still more startling. For, while the changes proposed in Great Britain would result in a gain of a little over 4 per cent. of representation, those proposed in Ireland work out at a loss of more than 20 per cent. It is an undeniable and most lamentable fact that, during a century of direct English rule, the population of Ireland has sunk from something like eight millions to something under four

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

and a half. But to make this disastrous failure of English administration the excuse for depriving Ireland of a fifth of the representation guaranteed to her by the Act of Union, is an act of meanness which finds its parallel only in the argument that the British working man, having been elaborately egged on by his social superiors to clamour for war in South Africa, must now be made to contribute out of his scanty earnings a special quota to the cost of that monument of folly and incapacity.

The House of Commons had a hard question to decide when it was asked to force the Postmaster-General to put the findings of the Bradford Committee into force. No reasonable man can doubt that the postal employees have a strong case, and a good deal to complain of. Undoubtedly they were led to expect that the decision of the Bradford Committee would be taken as binding, although no pledge was given. But, on the other hand, no surprise can be felt that the Postmaster, when the Report saw the light, should have been unwilling to accept it as final. It would certainly have been a serious step to accept the reasons given for the conclusions arrived at. The sole stated reason for the great rise of salaries proposed was, that the men were discontented. Was there not there a singular lack of the philosophy necessary for dealing with the average man? Is Carlyle's "Shoe-black" the exception then? Is he not rather the representative of the average shoe-black or postman? Will not every class, whatever exceptional and contented individuals may do, demand more and ever more from its employer? And how then can content or discontent be made the deciding factor in the treatment of any class of workers? It is this consideration, coupled with the enormous additional burden which the full increase proposed would have laid on the tax-payer, which makes it satisfactory that the Opposition leaders did not commit themselves to the Bradford Report. It would have been a serious matter if the first thing a Liberal Government had had to do was to find a million and a half as the commencement of its career of national economy. All

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

the same, the matter cannot rest where it is. The present situation has brought out the fact, that we have no standard by which to judge the wages which Government ought to pay, at any rate where there is no Trade Union standard of comparison. It is imperative that we should arrive at some clearer position. The more we look forward to State and municipal activity, the less we can afford to shirk the question. For if the State employee becomes in the eyes of the ordinary tax-payer an extortionate and licensed consumer of national revenue, there is an end to wise steps of nationalisation, to say nothing of social democracy. It certainly is worth while to consider Lord Stanley's proposition that some impartial, unpolitical, and permanent arbitration Board or Commission should be set up, to which all questions of the wages of government servants should be submitted, whether the final decision were left with such a Commission or it were regarded as advisory to the State departments. But, as things stand, we are certainly in serious straits—in danger in one direction of not doing the best by the men and creating a great Labour grievance, and, in the other, of subordinating our national industries to the political pressure which these employees' combinations can undoubtedly put on the ordinary member of Parliament.

It is interesting to note the progress of public opinion on the question of the revival of rural England. As information accumulates, the case for small farming and co-operation becomes stronger. Facts permeate slowly ; but there is a growing recognition of the change in English agriculture which modern conditions necessitate. With three quarters of our people crowded into the towns, providing a vast market at the very doors, relatively speaking, of every farmer, we have been importing from abroad the perishable articles which suffer from long transport, and struggling to grow, at home, the old-fashioned crops which can be raised more cheaply on virgin soils, and carried over sea for a mere trifle. A gradual substitution of the former products for the latter would seem to be our manifest destiny. The agricultural depres-

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

sion of the 'eighties and 'nineties has not been altogether an evil, if it has forced home this conclusion upon the minds of the English people. For the dairy-farm, the orchard, the market garden, and the small stock-farm are precisely those which succeed best in the hands of the small holder ; and the lack of small holdings is universally recognised as a social evil of the first magnitude. An increase of small holdings requires in its turn an increase of co-operation, and the training of those qualities of mutual help which will be so essential to the highly organised State of the future. The movement of public opinion in this direction will be greatly helped by the interesting Report on *Farming in Denmark* (Blackwood), just issued as the result of a visit of some Scottish farmers to that country, and by the Report of a Departmental Committee on The Fruit Industry of Great Britain. Both Reports recommend that efforts should be made, by means of legislation, to increase the number of small holdings. Both point out the striking advantages of co-operation. The visitors to Denmark give considerable space to the beneficial effects of State-assistance to agriculture, and to the effectiveness, in the practical sphere, of the People's High Schools, whose teaching is not technical, but in the main historical and literary.

The problem of the rural depopulation, however, is not merely an agricultural one. Given a change in methods of cultivation, such as we have outlined, and a gradual increase of small holders, there remains still the question : Can we not, even now, rescue from the cities those who are willing and able to return to the land ? The two subjects must be kept distinct. But they are equally urgent. Two recent events throw a good deal of light, and more than a ray of hope, over the prospects of deliberate "re-colonisation" in England. Mr. Rider Haggard's Report on the Salvation Army Land Settlements in the United States, particularly those in California and Colorado, has a bearing on the English problem. He puts forward a scheme of settlement in Canada, to be carried out by the Imperial and Canadian

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

Governments, through the agency of the Salvation Army or any similar organisation ; he expresses "great sympathy" with the view that its benefits "should not be confined to outlying portions of the Empire, as there is nothing to prevent their application at home" ; and he would be "glad, if so directed," to prepare a similar scheme for home settlement. A still more vigorous step forward has been taken by the London Unemployed Fund, in the establishment of the colony at Hollesley Bay, described in a Memorandum prepared in April last for the Local Government Board. The idea to be put in force is that of finding out, among the unemployed, those who may be fitted for taking up agricultural work, testing them by a period of probation, then starting them as labourers, with a cottage to which their family might be brought, on a fully equipped farm, and, finally, offering to the best qualified among them the opportunity of a small holding. It is hardly too much to say that if this experiment, which is as yet in an initial stage, succeeds, even in a moderate degree, it will reduce the two evils of want of employment and rural depopulation within manageable limits. All social reformers will watch it with intense interest. Its work will be seriously hampered by the dropping of the Unemployed Workmen Bill—a disastrous step, characteristic of a Government out of touch with the masses of the people, damaging to the progress of the work already begun, and threatening danger, in a hard winter, to the social organisation itself.

A recent conference of prominent Churchmen and Nonconformists of Manchester has issued a scheme of suggestions "on which the basis of a legislative concordat might be laid down" as to the management of elementary schools and the religious instruction to be given in them. These suggestions are of interest and value, though it is necessary to guard against the idea that an agreement between our two chief religious bodies will necessarily form a satisfactory basis for legislation. Education has been for too long the battle-ground of religious factions. It must be looked at from the civic rather than from the sectarian

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

standpoint, if real progress is to be made. The value of these suggestions is, that they show what each side is willing to concede to the other, and what they require in common in the interests of religion in the schools. The Church Party concedes popular control of the schools, and freedom from religious tests for the teachers—the two principles which Liberals and Free Churchmen have now for a long time unanimously demanded as essential. The Nonconformists, in return, admit that rent must be paid for the use of the Church schools, a rent which will no doubt have to be mainly provided by increase in the Exchequer contribution. They admit, also, that there should be facilities for denominational instruction, involving the right of entry into the schools in school-time, though they do not require these facilities for their own children, and though they recognise that such facilities will generally give superior opportunities to the Establishment. The two sides agree in requiring that Bible teaching, given, as at present, in the Council schools, by the teachers best qualified to give it, shall form part of the curriculum, and that the special teaching, if asked for by parents, shall not form part of the curriculum, though given as an alternative to part of the Bible teaching.

There will be much controversy over these two points—universal Bible teaching and the right of entry; but it may well be that, in insisting upon them, the parties to the agreement have not only chosen a good way of safeguarding their own interests, but have also shown a considerable knowledge of the wishes of parents and the actual conditions of school life. As to Bible teaching, there is no doubt that the only logical position (except the claim of the Roman Catholic: that every school should be denominational and all teachers appointed under tests) is that education should be wholly secular, and that no teaching of the Bible, except as literature, should be allowed. But, on the other hand, parents have got accustomed to, and value, the ordinary Bible teaching as given in Board Schools; and when it can also be said that all School Boards might have adopted a purely secular system at any time, but did not, and that all

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

Education Authorities might at any time adopt a purely secular system in their Council Schools, but do not, there seems to be need for something more than logic, before the reversal of a system which has worked well for thirty-five years can be justified. As to the right of entry in school-time, it is admitted that an unknown quantity of parents desire something more than Bible teaching; and therefore it may well be that the only way to prevent them from nursing a grievance, which might perpetuate religious strife and thus prevent educational progress, is to give them the right to obtain what they want, at the only place and time at which the children can be got to accept it, namely at the school and within the hours for which children are accustomed to attend. Not to offer facilities for denominational teaching is to deprive a certain, though probably a very small, proportion of parents of something which they may reasonably believe to be of value to their children; to offer such facilities out of school-time is a farce, because the children will not attend. The real difficulty which the Manchester suggestions do not solve is that of the Roman Catholics. Under the plan proposed, Catholic children could, it is true, be withdrawn from the Bible teaching under the Conscience Clause, and given special teaching under the right of entry; but this would not in the least satisfy the claims made on their behalf.

We observed last month that the foolishness of showing friendship for France during the Morocco complications was to abuse Germany, or to take an ultra French view of French interests in Morocco. Our belief that French diplomacy would prove capable of effecting a friendly settlement with Germany in Morocco has been entirely justified by the course of events. On July 10th, M. Rouvier announced in the Chamber that a complete understanding as to principles had been arrived at between the two Governments. It is an understanding which does not in any way prejudice or affect the agreements previously made with Great Britain and Spain. France recognises the independence and sovereignty of the Sultan, "the

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

integrity of his Empire," and "economic liberty without any distinction." Germany agrees with France as to the expediency of police and financial reforms, to be introduced into Morocco by an international understanding. M. Rouvier's statement was received with loud cheers in all parts of the Chamber ; and the satisfaction then expressed was echoed by the French Press, and was ratified in an important debate on the subject which took place on the Wednesday following. Thus a situation so thorny that it necessitated the resignation of a Minister for Foreign Affairs, has been arranged by the patience, wisdom, and good temper of the French Ministry and nation, who are equally resolute at the present time to seek peace and ensue it. A tribute is, we think, also due to the conciliatory spirit which Germany showed in response to French diplomacy. If, in the end, France is able to do for Morocco what England has done for Egypt, establishing, for the first time, a sound system of justice and administration, and is also able to revive the trade of Morocco for the benefit of the people of Morocco and all their customers, there will be no reason why either France or England should regret the interference of the German Government, or resent a protest, which, if somewhat unfortunately expressed, proceeded from natural feelings, based upon real commercial interests.

The most remarkable incident that occurred in the course of the Franco-German negotiations was the prohibition of a meeting which M. Jaurès, the most brilliant orator and, we may add, the most eminent statesman among European Socialists, had proposed to address in Berlin on Sunday, July 9th, the very day before the announcement which terminated the Moroccan crisis. Prince Bülow founded his decision upon the ground that the German Social Democrats—they numbered over three millions of voters at the last election—are unpatriotic ! This surely is a startling admission for the Kaiser's chief Minister to make at a critical moment in a diplomatic struggle. But the basis of the charge is, perhaps, even more astonishing than the charge itself. In order to prove the unpatriotic

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

character of this German nation within the German nation, the Chancellor read the following sentence from the *Neue Gesellschaft*, one of the organs of Social Democracy:—"It is now the historic task of the German Social Democracy to furnish the French Republic with what it sought in vain from the rulers of Russia—protection from provocations and from the overweening ambitions of an Imperialist German policy." This, of course, is not "Compatriotism," nor the kind of patriotism that appeals to the governing officials of a Police State; and, probably, the editor of the *Neue Gesellschaft* will have to go to prison. But a more enlightened declaration of the duty, charity, and justice of a nation towards its neighbours it would be difficult to conceive; and when English journalists and publicists talk superciliously about the German nation, as if it were a horde of well armed and well drilled barbarians, they should remember what splendid forces are recruiting and assembling beneath the mask of bureaucracy and militarism, ready, when the hour strikes, to make the government and policy of Germany free, humane, and democratic.

THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE GENERAL ELECTION

BBRITISH politics to-day provide an illustration of the lesser obscuring the greater. The unbroken series of Liberal successes at the by-elections tends to prevent the ordinary politician from seeing in its real significance a far more important, because a far more permanent, influence at work in British politics. The victories of Liberal candidates at by-elections represent no victory for a definite political policy or a clear programme of social reform. Recently-successful Liberal candidates have nothing in common but opposition to the Government and all its deeds. Home-Rulers and Anti-Home-Rulers, sectarian educationists and secular educationalists, brewers and teetotalers, Jingoists and Little Englanders, landlords and land-nationalisers, company-promoters and municipalisers, Federated Employers and professed Trade Union sympathisers are, alike, acceptable Liberal candidates. The complete explanation of the "revival of Liberalism" is to be found in the general disgust with the Government, and a general opinion that no change can possibly be for the worse. Among the Liberal candidates who have won these great victories on the wave of re-action, there is hardly one whose return is a gain to the cause of Progress.

It is no difficult matter to give an appearance of unity to mere opposition ; but, should the Liberals, as appears very probable, be returned in sufficient numbers to take office in the next Parliament, mere opposition must give place to an attempt at constructive reform. Then will the deep differences of opinion within the Party on every

LABOUR PARTY AND THE GENERAL ELECTION

question likely to demand the attention of Parliament manifest themselves. It is this absence, among Liberals, of unity of ideas, of agreement on immediate policy, this ignorance of the urgency of far-reaching social reforms, which prevent the serious politician and social reformer from regarding with hopeful satisfaction Liberal by-election successes and the prospect of a Liberal majority at the next election. These successes and this prospect have no element of permanence, because they have no solid foundation in the real political and social needs of the times.

Were the hope of the social reformer confined only to the continuance of the Tories in office, or to the hope of a change to a Liberal Government with no wider outlook than sectarian squabbles, mock discussion of dead issues, meaningless rhetoric about retrenchment—then, indeed, he would be justified in giving way to despair. But the observant political student sees abundant evidence that the work of promoting reform by legislation has passed away from the Liberal Party, to a new Party called into existence through the failure of the Liberal Party to adapt itself to changing conditions and changing needs. To the intelligent social reformer, the chief interest in the next election lies in the success which the new Party will achieve, and his interest in the next Parliament, in the *rôle* which that Party will play therein.

In the next General Election, the Labour Party, as a distinct, independent, organised, political force, will, for the first time, take a serious and important part. At every election since 1874 there have been Labour candidates; but on no former occasion has organised Labour, as a national political Party, entered into serious contest with the older political Parties, backed by organisation and large financial resources. We may ignore the Election of 1874, when some thirteen Trade Union candidates ran on independent lines as a protest against the Liberal Government's contemptuous denial of Trade Union rights; for this was in no sense an attempt to secure representation for general Labour interests. The first effort of a Labour Party to secure independent representation in Parliament on a general social reform programme was at the Election of 1895, when

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the infant Independent Labour Party put forward twenty-eight candidates. At this time the Party was but two years old ; and, with the enthusiasm of youth and inexperience, it essayed to accomplish deeds far beyond its means and power. But, without organisation, relying for its funds on the collections at its meetings and the voluntary gifts of its members, it succeeded, generally against two opponents, in polling an average vote of 1,593. Not one of its candidates was successful. While the enemy regarded this result with feelings of undisguised satisfaction, as indicating the extinction of the Independent Labour Party, its leaders and the rank and file were inspired by it to renewed enthusiasm, and at once set to work to profit by the experience, and to strengthen the weak places in the Party's methods and organisation, which the electoral contests had made evident.

The real character of the present combined Trade-Union-Socialist Labour Party, which is known as the Labour Representation Committee (the "L.R.C."), cannot be understood without a knowledge of the work and purpose of the Independent Labour Party. The strong hostility of the older Trade Union officials, and, through their influence, of the Trade Union Congress, to the formation of a Trade Union political Party, led to the formation in 1893 of the Independent Labour Party. This new Party immediately attracted the younger and active spirits of the Trade Union Movement. Branches of the Party were formed in all the industrial centres. It seized with a strong grip the towns of the West Riding and Lancashire, where the bitter hostility of Liberal manufacturers to industrial reforms had alienated earnest working men from Liberalism. The policy of the Independent Labour Party was the political independence of Labour. Its programme was Socialism. It carried on, as it still carries on, a most vigorous propaganda by means of meetings, leaflets, and tracts. It began to take an active and intelligent interest in local government. In fact, wherever a branch of the Independent Labour Party existed, it was the centre of political activity in the district. Its members were mainly Trade Unionists, and, being intelligent students of Labour questions, were,

LABOUR PARTY AND THE GENERAL ELECTION

naturally, prominent in the work of their Trade Union branches. Their influence as believers in the need for political action by Trade Unionists, and as Socialists, rapidly made a great change in the Trade Union Movement. In 1899 the Trade Union Congress passed a resolution instructing its Parliamentary Committee to summon a conference of Trade Unionists, Socialists and Co-operators, for the purpose of discussing the formation of a political federation. Out of this conference the Labour Representation Committee evolved.

The General Election of 1900 came before the new Labour Party had had time to get itself into organised form. Fifteen candidates, including nine candidates of the Independent Labour Party, went to the poll. Two of these were successful, the average vote being 4,170. Since then have come the remarkable by-elections at Clitheroe, Woolwich, and Barnard Castle. Thereby the desire for Labour Representation was strengthened by the conviction that Labour can win representation by the strength of its own right arm.

The success of the Labour Representation Committee has been phenomenal. At the General Election of 1900 there were affiliated with the Committee 300,000 Trade Unionists, in addition to the Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society. At present there are in affiliation a million Trade Unionists, in addition to the Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society. Practically, every Trade Union in the land is affiliated to the Committee, except the Miners, who have a separate Parliamentary representation scheme. In everything that gives real strength to a political Party, the Labour Party is the strongest and largest political organisation in Great Britain to-day. Every one of the million members of the affiliated bodies is paying his contribution to the central organisation; and, in addition, very many of the Unions are raising the finances to pay the expenses of their nominees as Parliamentary candidates, and to support them if returned. In this way, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers is responsible for the expenses of five candidates; the Railwaymen of four; the Textile Workers of

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

three ; the Joiners of three ; the Bricklayers of three ; the Boilermakers of two ; the Gasworkers of two ; the Lancashire Miners (who are a part of the L.R.C.) of two ; while fourteen other Trade Unions are responsible for one candidate each. The Independent Labour Party has ten candidates in the field, for whose candidatures it has accepted the financial responsibility. There are at present fifty-two Trade Union and Socialist candidatures endorsed by the L.R.C. When it is remembered, that the Labour Representation Committee is but five years old, it must be conceded that such an achievement indicates a very serious determination to realise the object for which the organisation came into being. The Labour Movement will thus, for the first time, at the next election, take its part equipped with funds and organisation, and inspired with enthusiasm and a definite conception of its political mission.

The Labour Representation Committee is not yet, as the facts just cited will indicate, a completely unified organisation. It is, rather, a federation of units, federated for a certain common purpose. It leaves the inception and promotion of candidatures, and the responsibility for their support, to the units composing the national Party. This plan has, doubtless, been the best during the first stages of the evolution of a united Labour Party. It would be useless to deny that, when the L.R.C. was first formed, there existed some measure of mutual distrust. This was only to be expected when men and Parties came together, who had for years been in open and sometimes bitter hostility. It was wisely decided to leave the financial responsibility for candidates to the individual Unions or bodies promoting them. This removed all grounds for suspicion among the wealthier Unions, that the smaller Unions or the Socialist bodies would use the funds of the richer Unions for their own interests. But it is equally true that association together has rapidly removed that early mistrust ; and at each annual conference some further step has been taken towards eliminating the sectional character of the candidatures, and towards consolidating the financial responsibility for the candidatures into a national responsibility. No sentiment is more heartily applauded at such

LABOUR PARTY AND THE GENERAL ELECTION

Conferences than a declaration that Labour candidates should represent the whole movement, and be responsible to the whole movement, rather than some section of the movement. A long step towards the ideal of a common fund by all payments being made to the national organisation has been taken, by requiring such direct contributions from affiliated societies as will enable the National Executive to pay one-fourth of the Returning Officer's fee for each candidate, and to each L.R.C. member of Parliament the sum of £200 a year, the Society promoting each successful candidature being left to supplement the member's income if necessary.

This brief outline of the political organisation of Labour will serve to show that Labour has at last made its own Party, and established it on foundations which have every appearance of permanence.

But the utility and prosperity of such a Party depend on the spirit which animates it, and the purpose to which its machinery is to be devoted. Unless a political Party is the expression of definite principles, and the medium of giving practical effect to reforms demanded by the needs of the age, it cannot have in it any element of permanence or success. It is just because the Labour Party has come into being to give voice to the hitherto inarticulate discontent of Labour, and to interpret the Spirit of the Age, that it has won such widespread and rapid success, and that its future as the Progressive Party in British politics is certainly assured.

While the politicians of the other Parties have been living in the past, ignorant that times have changed, and offering the people food which gave no nourishment to their hungry bodies and souls, leaders of the people have arisen from among the people, who knew, from their own experience, the bitter lot of the poor, and who, sometimes with uncultured but genuine eloquence and pathos, have "voiced their voiceless wrath and uttered their unuttered discontent." To these political children, and not to those whom the world considered the wise and prudent, have been revealed the signs of the times, and to them the way of salvation for the common people has been shown. For

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

twelve years the Independent Labour Party has been holding meetings by the hundred every week. Its members have been persistent in discussing, with their workmates and their neighbours, Labour problems, and the causes of the poverty of the workers and the wealth of the idlers. This work has been largely unobtrusive. It has received little recognition in the public Press; but, like all persistent effort in a righteous cause, it has not been without effect. It has created in every industrial centre a working-class opinion educated on Labour and Social questions, and has trained many working-men in a knowledge of history and economics which would—as, indeed, it often has done—put the Party politician to utter shame and confusion. The work and success of the Independent Labour Party in advocating social reform on collectivist lines have been greatly assisted by certain favourable circumstances. As already mentioned, its membership has been largely Trade Unionist—men in whom Trade Unionism had already, to some extent, developed the social spirit; and men with this training more readily appreciated the application of the principle of associated effort to political and social questions. Moreover, the last twelve years have witnessed the rapid disappearance of individualism in industry, the supersession of competition by private monopoly, and the transfer of private monopolies to public ownership and control. The whole tendency of industrial development, and the remarkable extension of municipal enterprise, have furnished justification of the teaching of the Independent Labour Party, and provided object-lessons of the practicability of the reforms which the Party has advocated. These tendencies have had, unconsciously, a very valuable influence in eradicating the narrow, personal, selfish, individualistic view of questions and interests, and in developing the collective or social idea of thought and interest. In short, all the influences of these last ten years have been strongly towards compelling the recognition of co-operation as advantageous, and the recognition of the social character of the problems of the age, of social responsibility for their existence, and of social effort, as the only way to solve them. Though not universally or fully recognised, the whole tendency of

LABOUR PARTY AND THE GENERAL ELECTION

mental development during the last decade has been from the individualistic conception of reform, from the idea of individual responsibility for existing evils, and of the sufficiency of individual effort to remove them, to a conception of the social character of the problems, and to a conviction that collective effort on collectivist lines must be the method of dealing with them. A different conception of the function of the State has entered men's minds. The function of the State is no longer generally regarded as being merely supplementary to individual effort, but as being the medium through which individual effort may be exerted. The purpose of legislation, under this new idea, is conceived to be, to attain individual desires, not by giving facilities for independent individual action, but by putting responsibility for individual condition upon the State, and by all co-operating together to establish common conditions for the advantage of all.

The Labour Party is the political expression of this social spirit; and its object in politics is to reflect this spirit in social legislation. It is this characteristic which distinguishes the Labour Party from other political Parties. It, in short, is the only political Party which has a comprehensive principle as its basis, and a distinct social ideal to be reached by the application of this principle. The fundamental principle of the Labour Party involves the democratic control of all political, industrial, and social means and necessities. The efforts of the Labour Party in Parliament will be directed to this end alone, to applying collectivist principles to the treatment of every question; to democratising and socialising, in the fullest sense of these words, all the aids to physical and intellectual life.

The Independent Labour Party is fully conscious that this must be the work of a Labour Party in politics. But, while the Independent Labour Party is pronouncedly Socialist, and though the whole Labour Representation Committee is committed by the practically unanimous resolution of its Annual Conference to Socialism as its ultimate aim, it would be unfair to claim that the whole movement, or even all the L.R.C. candidates, are convinced and avowed Socialists. Still, though many of the rank

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

and file of the L.R.C., and many of its candidates, do not profess to be Socialists, they subscribe as heartily as the Socialists themselves to the separate items in the Socialist programme. This apparent illogicality is quite characteristically British. Socialism appeals to the German because of the unanswerable logic of its theory. The British mind cares little for theories. It judges all proposals apart from theory, by the test of the common sense and practicability of each. The electioneering literature of the L.R.C. shows at the same time the unanimity of the Party on an immediate programme, and how very wide indeed is the gulf which separates it from other political Parties.

The programme on which the Labour candidates will appeal to the constituencies at the coming election will be based on the reasons for the existence of a Labour Party. They will urge the claims of Labour representation on the ground of the justice of working-class representation. Though demanding representation of the workers by the workers, because of the neglect, from ignorance or wilfulness, of the workers' welfare by Parliament hitherto, the Labour Party demands direct Labour representation on the higher ground that it is not well, either for the working classes themselves, or for the State, that a large class of citizens should be outside direct participation in national legislation and administration. The ultimate welfare of the State depends upon the extent to which every class of citizens is taking an intelligent interest and an active part in national affairs. Only those in close touch with the working classes know the extent to which their judgment, mental independence, self-confidence, and self-respect have been weakened or left undeveloped by the want of direct participation in legislation and local administration. Not by any means the least important part of the work of the Labour Movement is to create and stimulate amongst the workers a feeling of confidence in their own ability, and a respect for their work and usefulness as wealth-producers and citizens. In doing this, the Labour Party will be doing a work which must result in incalculable advantage to the national welfare.

But the Labour Party will, also, base its appeal for

LABOUR PARTY AND THE GENERAL ELECTION

support on the existence of grave industrial and social evils which Parliament, as hitherto composed, has neither understood nor shown any serious desire to treat. To attend a meeting of a Labour candidate is to discover how different are the politics of this Party from those of other political Parties. The talk here is of work and wages, unemployment and hard times, the poverty of those who toil hard and long and the riches of those who never work at all, of better housing and of better schooling for the children. And this talk to working men of things which touch their very life, explains the secret of the success of the Labour Party. The Labour Party has given the working man a new conception of politics. It has shown him how vitally the laws of the country affect his conditions of life. It has popularised and put into simple form and phraseology the causes of poverty, and, with equal clearness and simplicity, pointed out the only remedy. It is difficult for the outsider to understand the contempt which is often expressed on Labour platforms for the petty controversies of Free Traders and Protectionists, of Clericals and Non-conformists, and for the paltry instalments of reform which those Liberal politicians who promise them appear to regard as so important and revolutionary. The Labour Party is impatient of tinkering reforms, because it realises the truth of John Stuart Mill's saying that "small remedies applied to great evils do not produce small results. They produce no result at all."

The Labour Party agrees, too, with the statement of the same economist, that "the deep root of the evils and inequalities which fill the industrial world is the subjection of Labour to Monopoly, and the enormous share which the possessors of the instruments of production take from the produce." Realising this subjection of Labour to Monopoly to be the cause of industrial evils, and of the enormous proportion of the nation's wealth which goes to a few, all the proposals of the Labour Party aim at reducing to final extinction the "subjection of Labour to Monopoly," the abolition of which will put an end to the taking of that enormous share of the production of Labour which the owners of the instruments of pro-

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

duction—the landlords and the capitalists—do, at present, appropriate.

The undisguised aim, then, of the Labour Party in British politics, is the abolition of landlordism and capitalism. An intelligent Labour Party—that is, a Party whose aim it is really to improve the lot of the wage-earners—could have no other object ; for, so long as landlordism and capitalism exist, the power of their monopoly will secure to them all social increment in the value of land and mechanical improvements, leaving the wage-earners toiling for a bare subsistence, and with a hard task to prevent the competition of the increasing number of unemployed from forcing wages to a still lower point.

Though this—the abolition of private monopoly of the means of existence—must be the final aim of a Workers' Party, the Labour Party understands the nature of its task, and the difficulties in the way, too well to expect to attain the consummation of its ideal except by progressive steps. At the next election, the Labour Party will stand united on a programme of reforms for which the trade and industry and the social condition of the people, if not public opinion, are ripe—proposals which, if carried into effect, would confer the three-fold advantage of lightening the burdens on trade, of raising the standard of life and comfort of the masses, and of lessening the “enormous share which the possessors of the instruments of production take from the produce.”

No better illustration of the practical character of the Labour Party's politics, of its immediate programme and of its intelligence in utilising an outside popular agitation to put forward its own reforms, could be furnished, than the Labour Party's crusade against Mr. Chamberlain's Protectionist proposals. While standing as firmly as the Cobden Club by the maintenance of a Free Trade policy, it did not, like the Liberal Free-Traders, confine itself to disagreeing with everything that Mr. Chamberlain said, to relying upon a negative opposition and the soothing effect of sonorous rhetoric about the blessings of Free Trade and the wealth and prosperity of the nation. It agreed with Mr. Chamberlain at least to the extent of admitting the need of a serious

LABOUR PARTY AND THE GENERAL ELECTION

re-consideration of our position as a manufacturing nation, with a large part of our population dependent on a foreign trade; and in recognising the existence of a vast mass of industrial poverty which the Liberal Free-Traders, in their blind devotion to the limited application of a great principle, are unable to see. Though the Labour Party saw, and declared, that Mr. Chamberlain's proposals would not lessen, but aggravate every industrial and social evil which afflicts our trade and population to-day, it put forward, to deal with the admitted position of our trade and population, proposals for lightening the burdens on industry and improving its efficiency, by nationalising the railways and the mines, and transferring the burden of local and imperial taxation from trade and earned incomes to the social increment on land and the large incomes and fortunes of the non-producing rich. The efficiency of our workers it would endeavour to improve by more generous grants for every grade of education and by the feeding of school-children, the taxation for these purposes being raised nationally by abstracting, for the benefit of the labouring community, some part of the "enormous share which the possessors of the instruments of production take from the produce."

These proposals are consistent with the final aim of the Labour party in politics. The nationalisation of the railways, canals, and mines, though advocated in connection with the fiscal controversy on the ground of the economy and greater efficiency, is further advocated from the Labour platform, as a means whereby the community may eventually rid itself of the toll, probably not less than £100,000,000 a year, which the present owners of these concerns—almost always non-working shareholders, and therefore unnecessary to the management—levy upon the community.

As to land-reform, the Labour Party advocates the nationalisation of the land as the only land-reform proposal competent to remove the incubus of landlordism, to restore the economic rent of the land to its rightful owners—the people—and to give unfettered facilities for the development of the land for agricultural and urban purposes.

Keeping in view its central idea, that all social reform must aim at lessening the disparities of wealth and poverty

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

in the community, the Labour Party advocates such proposals as Old Age Pensions, better education, the feeding of school-children, the limitation of the hours of labour, a higher standard of municipal life—not only on the grounds of their humanitarianism and social economy, but as a means whereby the workers may get back some part of the wealth abstracted from them by the monopolists of the instruments of production. If the cost of the reforms mentioned is to be put on the workers in increased taxation, then no improvement in their economic condition will result. This would simply mean a lowering of their spending power, and, hence, of the standard of life, in other directions. The cost of all such reforms, if they are to benefit the people for whose benefit they are supposed to be intended, must be met by the taxation of the incomes of the rich. An article in the creed of the Labour Party is, that the rich must be made to pay for the removal of the social evils for which their appropriation of social wealth is responsible.

With this aim in view, the Labour Party looks to Taxation reform as one of the chief means by which social reforms may be carried out. "Monopoly, in all its forms, is the taxation of industry for the benefit of idleness," says a great political economist. The Labour Party will look entirely to this monopoly for the purposes of taxation, and will aim at reversing the existing state of things by the taxation of idleness for the benefit of industry.

At the next election, amid the noise of contending factions, talking only of Free Trade and Protection, Sectarianism and Chinese Labour, the Party of the future will, in fifty constituencies, be presenting such a programme as has been briefly outlined. Apart from the substantial successes which this programme will secure, the educative effect of such a programme being brought into the electoral arena will be enormous. It is useless to talk about such reforms being outside the sphere of practical politics. They come inside practical politics when they become the accepted programme of a political Party as resourceful, well-organised, and determined as the Labour Party.

Though the Labour Party refuses to have its election

LABOUR PARTY AND THE GENERAL ELECTION

programme determined for it by the schemes of other politicians, it must not be assumed that on questions upon which other parties will fight the election, the Labour Party has no opinion and will give no expression. The attitude of the Party to the Fiscal Question has already been indicated; and on the questions of Education, Chinese Labour, Temperance, and government mismanagement, the Party has definite opinions which will be clearly explained.

On the Education question, the Labour Party cries "a plague on both your Parties." It has no more sympathy with the sectarianism of the chapel than with the sectarianism of the Church. It values education too highly to allow it to remain the cockpit of contending sectaries. It would free education entirely from the domination of the parson, whether priest or Nonconformist. It stands for a national, secular education, full and free.

To a Party which hopes to see the activities of the State carried into yet undreamt-of spheres, the question of the efficiency of government departments is an important one. The explanation of the extravagance and the incompetence of the War Office is to be found in the fact that the department is under no democratic control, and entirely beyond the *surveillance* of Parliament. The remedy for this is to bring our government departments under the control of large parliamentary committees, on the model of our municipal administration.

As to the Temperance Question, the Labour Party stands for complete democratic control. Like the late Mr. Gladstone, it is sympathetic to Local Veto; but it believes it could never be more than a partial and occasional remedy. It would give power to the localities to limit, prohibit, control, or manage, just as the intelligence of the locality should decide.

On this Labour Programme, fifty candidates will appeal for electoral support at the next Election. Of this number, a fair proportion will find seats in the next Parliament. As they cannot be of sufficient strength to determine the course of business in Parliament, the outside politician may be inclined to disregard the revolutionary character of their

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

programme. Undoubtedly, to many, the chief interest which the presence in the next Parliament of a greatly-strengthened Independent Labour Party will excite, will be, not its programme or its ultimate aim, but the attitude which, as a minority, it is likely to assume to other political Parties. This curiosity can be easily satisfied. The attitude of the Labour Party to the next Government will be determined by the Government itself. The Labour Party will not expect a Liberal Government, composed of men who neither understand the Social Question nor would be prepared to provide the necessary reforms if they did see the necessity, to concede any great measures of reform. But the attitude of the Labour Party to the Government would be one of independent though friendly co-operation, not generally, but on every occasion on which the Government is promoting legislation acceptable to the Labour Party. On the other hand, no consideration for the fate or fortunes of the Government will prevent the Labour Party from opposing to the extent of its power any proposal of the Government which is not acceptable to it. The Labour Party in the next Parliament may be relied upon to give the Liberals as good an opportunity as they could desire, of proving by practice their beautiful platform-precepts about Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform.

PHILIP SNOWDEN

LIBERAL INTOLERANCE

THE natural wish of every Liberal, that the Party should come into office with a majority large enough to ensure that this time office shall mean power, is sometimes coupled with another wish not easily reconciled with Liberal principles. "Give us," they say to the electors, "a majority which shall render us independent of the Irish vote." There is a sense, no doubt, in which this wish is defensible. A large and statesmanlike measure for the benefit of Ireland might conceivably be wrecked by Nationalist opposition, on the ground that the cause of Home Rule is better served by Irish discontent than by Irish prosperity. I say that the Nationalist vote might conceivably be determined by this motive, because I seem to have read isolated speeches by Irish members which suggested something of this kind. But there has been nothing in the recent action of the Nationalist Party to justify such a suspicion. If any measure passed by the Imperial Parliament could put an end to Irish discontent, it would be a Land Purchase Bill. For a quarter of a century, the agrarian and the Constitutional questions have been so mixed up, that it has been hard to say which of them has done most to further Irish agitation. But, when Mr. Wyndham proposed to take the first real step towards getting the agrarian question out of the way, he met with nothing but support from Mr. Redmond. However this circumstance may be explained—whether it be that the Irish leaders are less black than they have been painted by English artists, or that the Irish people are too well alive to their material interests to care to see them sacrificed to political objects—it was by Irish support that Mr.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Wyndham was enabled to carry his Bill. But the Liberals who ask for a big majority because it will make them independent of the Irish vote, do not assign as their reason the wish to have a free hand in Irish legislation. They more often seem anxious to be rid of Irish questions altogether, to have the House of Commons left free to give its whole time to legislation likely, as they think, to interest English Liberals. Now it is just to prevent this that Ireland is represented in the Imperial Parliament; and, in so far as an English Administration is enabled to put Ireland on one side, the purpose of Parliamentary representation is defeated.

It would be unfortunate if this wish were generally avowed by Liberals, because there is no reason to doubt that Irish affairs will be at least as prominent in the next Parliament as they have been in the present. Mr. Wyndham did more than pass an Irish Land Act. He aroused Irish hopes. He made it plain that even a Conservative Cabinet might be willing—but for its tail—to govern Ireland by Irish ideas. It is true that, having done this much, he found that the fears of the Prime Minister made it impossible for him to satisfy the expectations he had raised—and raised, I do not doubt, with a sincere intention of fulfilling them. But it is impossible that a new departure, undertaken on so great a scale and coming from so unlikely a quarter, should remain without results. The Liberal Government will have to make up its mind whether it will take up Mr. Wyndham's dropped threads, or seek to make Devolution superfluous by doing for Ireland what Ireland, were she permitted, would do for herself. Neither policy has yet had a fair trial. Mr. Gladstone did his best to put the latter plan into execution, when he passed the Land Act of 1881. But this first essay in governing Ireland by Irish ideas was predestined to come to nothing. Instead of giving the occupying tenant the freehold at a fair price, and enabling him to borrow the purchase-money from the State, it set up a dual ownership which made it the interest, alike of landlord and of tenant, to spend nothing on the land. Mr. Balfour, again, would have liked to settle the Education Question on Irish

LIBERAL INTOLERANCE

lines ; and he has frankly told his followers that, were he a free agent, he would give the Roman Catholics of Ireland a University to their mind. But his desire has never become an intention ; and it is not unfair to suppose that the favour he showed to Sir Antony MacDonnell's projects had its origin in the fact that they would have enabled Ireland to do for herself what the Ulster Conservatives would not suffer him to do for her. In one way or the other, however, the question will present itself to the next Parliament ; and Liberals will be well advised in making up their minds beforehand on which of these alternative lines they are prepared to approach it. Is the University that cannot be withheld much longer to be the creation of the Imperial Parliament, or of some subordinate body set up for this purpose among others ?

So far as Ireland is concerned, the latter plan is probably the better of the two. The Irish University Question does not stand alone. It is only one of a series of measures of varying degrees of importance which the Irish Reform Association hope to see carried out by the method of Devolution. Those who care to know what these reforms are will find them enumerated in the appendix to Lord Dunraven's pamphlet.¹ That method seems to me a common ground on which Home Rulers and Unionists might work together. The one will look on Devolution as a stepping-stone to Home Rule ; the other will see in it the sole effective substitute for Home Rule. But, though a Liberal may hope to see Devolution in some shape established before the next Parliament comes to an end, he may prefer—and rightly prefer—to see the University Question settled by Parliament itself. The present condition of that question is a crying and continuing injustice. As such, it is the common duty of all Parties to find a remedy ; but it is, in an especial manner, the duty of the Liberal Party. Their neglect of that duty has, indeed, been overshadowed by the more recent shortcomings of the Unionists. The vigour with which Mr. Balfour has urged the educational claims of Ireland upon his supporters has placed their refusal to

¹ *The Crisis in Ireland.* By the Earl of Dunraven. London : Chapman & Hall. 18.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

consider them in a stronger light; and the more so, that a Party which cannot give Ireland Home Rule is specially bound to consult her wishes in the matter of legislation. The Home Ruler can at least plead that his readiness to let Irishmen govern themselves excuses him from the obligation to govern them in their fashion rather than in his own. On the other hand, Liberals are so far more inconsistent than Conservatives in reference to this question, that they make religious equality the basis of their ecclesiastical policy. They profess that their object is the exclusion from politics of all considerations arising out of differences of religion. The Liberal may be of any religion or of none; that is a question which affects his life as a man, not his life as a citizen. How is this principle applied in the case of Ireland?

The higher education of the country is given or controlled by two Universities: the University of Dublin and the Royal University. The University of Dublin consists of a single very famous college, Trinity. The Royal University consists mainly, though not exclusively, of five Colleges—University College, Dublin; the three Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway; and the Magee Presbyterian College at Londonderry. The endowments of the University of Dublin, or rather of Trinity College, amount to about £38,000 a year. They are, in a sense, its own property. The endowments of the Royal University consist of £20,000 paid to it annually by the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland; and of about £38,000 which is granted annually by Parliament to the Queen's Colleges. The other two Colleges receive an indirect endowment out of the £20,000 given to the University from the Irish Church surplus. All these Colleges are open, as is Trinity College, to students of all religions, including under this term members of the Church of Ireland and Presbyterians. As a matter of fact, however, the educational advantages are very unequally distributed between the two leading religions of Ireland. Irish Protestants go to Trinity College and the three Queen's Colleges. Irish Roman Catholics go, for the most part, to University College, Dublin. In other words, the institutions to which the Protestants of Ireland mainly send their

LIBERAL INTOLERANCE

sons have endowments amounting to something like £75,000 a year; the institution to which the Roman Catholics of Ireland mostly send their sons has an endowment variously estimated at £4,500 or £6,000 a year. Nor is even this sum given frankly as a fraction, at all events, of the debt due to the majority of the people of Ireland. It is given in a way at once circuitous and inconvenient, and given, moreover, as though the donor was either ashamed of what he was doing, or afraid of its being found out. Trinity College draws its income from its own property. The Queen's Colleges draw theirs partly from the Consolidated Fund, partly from money annually voted by Parliament. University College has no direct income from the State. It has merely a share in the services of the twenty-eight Fellows of the Royal University. In form, the election to these Fellowships is by the Senate; but in fact the appointments are made by the Presidents of the Five Colleges, among which they have been distributed. The duties of the Fellows are to conduct the University examinations, and to teach students of the University "in some educational institution, approved by the Senate, wherein matriculated students of the University are being taught." The distribution of the Fellowships was determined by the Senate in 1882. Fourteen are allotted to University College, Dublin, seven to Queen's College, Belfast, three each to the Queen's Colleges at Cork and Galway, and one to the Magee Presbyterian College at Londonderry. The salary paid to each Fellow is £400 a year, or so much as with the salary he may receive in respect of a Fellowship or Professorship in any other University or College will make up that sum.

This complicated scheme seems designed to combine the largest possible number of the objections to which such an arrangement can be open. It makes the Royal University an examining body, and nothing else; for, though the teachers in the five Colleges, or some of them, are Fellows of the University, they are appointed, not by the University, but by the Colleges. The defects of a purely examining university are by this time pretty well known. The conception of a university is degraded when it is deprived of its most important function; and the teaching given, whether

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

privately or in colleges, suffers by the tendency to test it by exclusive reference to examination results. The evils of the system are admirably described in the Final Report of the Royal Commission of 1901.

“No more paralysing and disheartening influence on an able and enthusiastic teacher can be imagined than to see that the more thorough his method, the more connected a view he seeks to present of his subject, the more likely is his lecture room to be deserted and his teaching branded as excellent but useless.”

Nor does the objection apply only to Honours Men ; on the contrary,

“the Pass Man is precisely the student who most needs to be lifted out of the examination groove ; and university teaching for a pass degree ought to be raised well above the pass level. A skilful teacher, by his very digressions, will suggest new ideas, and stir a quickened interest.”

Again, the Royal University combines, to a remarkable extent, the disadvantages of the denominational and secular systems. The interests of education are subordinated at all points to denominational considerations. The governing body is a Senate consisting of a Chancellor and thirty Senators appointed by the Crown, and six additional members elected by the graduates of the University. Appointment by the Crown may be an excellent method when the choice of the Crown is left free. But in the case of the Royal University the Crown is free only on paper.

“In making appointments to the Senate, the Commissioners tell us, the Crown has invariably acted on the principle that the Roman Catholic and Protestant members should be equal in number. . . . Even for the office of Fellow and Examiner no one is deemed eligible, be his qualifications what they may, if his appointment would be regarded as causing a disturbance of the denominational equilibrium.”

LIBERAL INTOLERANCE

It is a necessary accompaniment of this introduction of the denominational principle without the denominational name, that the Fellowships are not proportionally distributed among the Colleges. University College has fourteen, the three Queen's Colleges have in all only thirteen. This is inevitable ; because it is only in this way that University College can receive even a partial equivalent for the grant from the Consolidated Fund enjoyed by the Queen's Colleges. But, though inevitable, it is still mischievous ; since it furnishes occasion for a prevailing belief that "the method of allocating examinerships has given to certain institutions an unfair advantage over the others."

The single advantage of the Royal University is, that it makes University College possible, and so enables about 200 Roman Catholic students to obtain a university education. Let us see what the character of this education is, and in what respect it is superior to other ways of getting over the religious difficulty. Some advantages over these other ways it must surely have ; else why have Liberals and Conservatives been alike hostile to its displacement by something more in accord with the wishes of the majority of Irishmen ? The College, then, has for its President a Jesuit Father ; and with him are associated as Professors five other Jesuits, while three more help in the administration. The remaining ten Professors are laymen. All the Professors are in practice appointed by the President. The nomination to a Fellowship rests with the Senate ; but, as a matter of course, the Senate nominates the person presented to it by Father Delany. The government of the College is autocratic, except so far as the President's rule is tempered by an advisory Council set up by himself. If the Roman Catholics of Ireland were satisfied with this state of things, I should be the last person to call attention to it. I should only be glad that the religious difficulty had been got over by so very transparent a deception. It would, it is true, be got over in the worst possible way—the way which unites the greatest amount of cowardice on the part of the Government, and the smallest amount of educational results. Still, the Liberal worship of undenominationalism all over the world, and the Conservative worship of undenomina-

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

tionalism in Ireland, are such large factors in the question, and are apt to prove so unmanageable, that the prudent course might be to let well alone, and not disturb a settlement which, however little credit it might reflect on the courage or consistency of its authors, did at least satisfy those most concerned with it. But the Roman Catholics of Ireland are *not* satisfied. It would be strange indeed if they were. A system under which a minority of the Irish nation has the use of educational endowments amounting to £75,000 a year, while the majority of that nation has to make the best of an educational endowment amounting to about one fifteenth of that sum, is not likely to satisfy them. I could understand deliberate persistence in a bad system of education, if it pleased the people who pass under it. I could understand such persistence if the educational results were exceptionally good. I could even understand it if it kept unharmed the principle of undenominationalism in education—one-sided as that principle is. But when not one of these consequences follows from it—when the education given is inadequate, when it is entirely under Jesuit control, when it is resented by the Roman Catholics of Ireland as satisfying in no single respect their just claims—on what possible ground can it appeal to Englishmen? Yet this is the educational system which Unionists will not suffer Mr. Balfour to alter—which, as we are sometimes told, Liberals will not suffer the next Prime Minister to alter. Never surely did bewitched parents clasp in their embrace an uglier changeling.

The objection commonly urged to making any change, is the impossibility of finding one which shall satisfy Roman Catholics without giving just offence to Protestants. I believe that this objection has no real existence. The Roman Catholics of Ireland, as we shall see, are not the impracticable people they are made out to be. Even if they were, I think that, where Ireland is concerned, English Protestants should be slow to find fault with them. We are bound to take care that an act of justice to the Irish majority shall not involve injustice or injury to the Irish minority; but, supposing this to be guarded against, I know of no demand that Irishmen are at all likely to make

LIBERAL INTOLERANCE

which Englishmen need hesitate to grant. Englishmen—English Liberals, at all events—have ceased to do evil in Ireland. But, with the exception of the Irish Land Act of last year, they have not begun to do well. And, even if they had begun to do well, something more than improvement in the future would be demanded of them. I should like to make every Liberal voter read the first volume of Mr. Lecky's *History of Ireland*—Mr. Lecky was a Unionist and a Protestant, and in no way therefore a prejudiced witness—and then ask him whether some amends are not due for so much past misgovernment. For centuries the history of Ireland is nothing but a record of English wrong doing. It is something, no doubt, that we have disestablished the Irish Church. But the long traditions of Protestant ascendancy did not die out when they ceased to be actively mischievous. Something more visible than the mere abandonment of a bad policy is wanted to impress the imagination; and, unfortunately, it is hard to convince Englishmen that there are nations in whose affairs the imagination plays something more than the secondary part it plays in their own. I believe, for example, that it would have made an immense difference in Ireland if, after Disestablishment, the Viceroy had ordinarily been a Roman Catholic Peer, and had been provided with a Roman Catholic Chapel Royal. A purely negative policy in ecclesiastical matters has been accompanied by a purely negative policy in educational matters. We have abolished tests—a change which hardly a single Irishman wanted or valued—but we have done nothing more. What is the situation presented to the Irish nation as a result of this policy? A magnificent provision for the higher education of Irishmen who have the good fortune to be Protestants, and no provision at all for Irishmen who have the ill fortune to be Roman Catholics. And, with this arrangement before our eyes, we still wonder that Ireland is not a contented country.

Let us see then what the Irish demand is. It has taken more forms than one; but I am here concerned with the latest and only authoritative version. It is that Roman Catholic parents should have the same educational oppor-

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

tunities as Protestants, and have them in a form of which their consciences allow them to make use. The answer sometimes given to this demand—though not I hope by Liberals—is, that the parents in question have these opportunities already. They can send their sons to Trinity College. There they will be placed on precisely the same footing as Protestant students. They will attend the same lectures, pass the same examinations, be given the same degrees. No inquiry will be made as to their religion, nor will the profession of it carry with it any disability. Whether residence at Trinity would involve any danger to the faith of a Roman Catholic student, is a point upon which I am not qualified to have an opinion. That the authorities would do their best to prevent any risk of the kind, I have no doubt ; and I should have been inclined to think that the relations between the two religions in Ireland would make it almost a point of honour among Roman Catholic students to leave Trinity as good Catholics as they entered it. This conviction, however, is somewhat shaken by a passage in the evidence given before the Commission by Dr. Bernard, now Dean of St. Patrick's, and then, as holder of one of the two principal Divinity Professorships, a prominent member of the teaching staff of Trinity College. Dr. Bernard is prepared to establish and endow a Roman Catholic College in the Royal University, on condition that it shall be open to none but Roman Catholics. His reason for this limitation is that, while the State may rightly endow a Roman Catholic College, it ought not to do so "to the possible detriment of the faith of Protestant students," and that there must be such detriment in the case of Protestant students attending an institution "under predominant Roman Catholic influences." Whether Dr. Bernard is right or wrong in this view, it cannot be denied that if the danger exists—and on this point Dr. Bernard is an eminently competent witness—it must equally exist in the case of Roman Catholic students attending a College under predominant Protestant influences. If it is objected that, since the abolition of tests, Trinity College no longer answers to this description, I can wish no better answer than that given by the present Prime Minister.

LIBERAL INTOLERANCE

“The vast majority of students in that great University are Protestants. Protestant services are exclusively performed in its chapel. At this moment”—the letter was written in 1899—“the whole of its teaching staff is Protestant.”

Do not these conditions taken together constitute “pre-dominant Protestant influences?”

No doubt, if the Roman Catholic parents of Ireland choose to disregard this fact, and send their sons to Trinity, the religious character of the College would rapidly change. Is that what English Liberals and English Nonconformists really desire? If so, they certainly have the courage of their convictions, since the result would be what Mr. Balfour has described in the same letter.

“Such an influx must convert a University now mainly Protestant into one mainly Roman Catholic. A Roman Catholic ecclesiastic would be Provost, a Roman Catholic majority would rule the College, and, for the first time in Ireland since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a Protestant youth could no longer get the best kind of university training amidst Protestant surroundings.”

Mr. Balfour may well say: “This surely would be a strange result of Protestant zeal.” But it would be the inevitable result if the Roman Catholic hierarchy were to change its policy, and fill Trinity with Roman Catholic students, and the University of Dublin with Roman Catholic voters. Happily for the interests of university education, there is no chance of their doing this. What they ask for, and teach their people to ask for, is equality. They have no wish to level down. Bishop O'Dwyer told the Commission that he “would look on the tearing down of Trinity College, or the wrecking of it, with absolute horror;” and I believe that there is no educated Irishman who is not proud that Ireland should possess so famous a University, though more often than not he himself may have neither part nor lot in it. This is a very important and a very satisfactory element in the situation. There is no question of confisca-

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

tion, no desire to build up the higher education of Irish Roman Catholics on the ruins of the higher education of Irish Protestants.

The most recent and, as such, the only authoritative version of the Irish demand is contained in a statement unanimously adopted at a general meeting of the Irish Roman Catholic Hierarchy held at Maynooth in June 1897. After giving special recognition to the "fair and liberal attitude" taken up by Mr. Lecky, to "the true liberality of mind" shown by Mr. John Morley, as well as to Mr. Arthur Balfour's "fairness, friendliness of tone, and appreciation of the views of Irish Catholics," the Archbishops and Bishops set out their views on four burning questions—the relative numbers of laymen and Ecclesiastics on the governing body; the endowment of theological teaching; the security of Professors against arbitrary dismissal; and the application of the Test Acts. Upon every one of these points the statement is perfectly precise and perfectly satisfactory. As regards the governing body, "we do not," the Bishops say, "ask for a preponderance, or even an equality in number, of ecclesiastics upon it; but are prepared to accept a majority of laymen." As regards theological teaching, they are prepared to assent to any guarantees that may be necessary that the moneys voted by Parliament shall be applied exclusively to the teaching of secular knowledge. The position of the Professors will be secured by submitting any question of dismissal "to the decision of a strong and well chosen Board of visitors, in whose independence and judicial character all parties would have confidence." Finally, the Bishops "have no objection to the opening up of the degrees, honours, and emoluments of the University to all comers." What is there in this that any Liberal can reasonably object to? What is there in it that offends against Liberal principles? At all events, what is there that offends against them, more than the system actually in operation at the present time? In what respect is a University, in which a majority of the Governors are laymen, worse than a College which is practically in the hands of the Order of Jesus? If, as every English statesman of either Party, and every witness examined by

LIBERAL INTOLERANCE

the Royal Commission, has admitted, *some* concession to Irish feeling is necessary, since "Catholic parents will not send their sons to Trinity College nor to the Queen's Colleges," and so, "the only alternatives practically remaining are either to keep the Catholics of Ireland in ignorance, and let them fall behind every other country in the world, or give them opportunities of university education which their consciences can accept"—what objection can be urged against the foundation and endowment of a University which shall have the characteristics just enumerated, and yet possess the endowment required to place it on a level with the present University of Dublin?

The foundation of a new University, which shall be Roman Catholic in the sense that the University of Dublin is Protestant, is not indeed the only solution of this problem. There is another, and, as I am inclined to think, a better solution open to us in the foundation of a College which shall be Roman Catholic in the sense that Trinity College is Protestant, and shall equally form part of the University of Dublin. There is also a third solution, by far the worst (as it seems to me) of the three, but still constituting a final settlement of the question, and, in the end, perhaps, securing not inferior advantages for the Roman Catholics of Ireland—the foundation of such a College in the Royal University. I shall not attempt to set out the relative merits of these three proposals, partly because the choice between them is one which should be left to Irishmen, and partly because it is infinitely more important that they should have the opportunity given them of making that choice promptly, than that they should make it in favour of this or that plan. This, too, is a reason for wishing the settlement to come from the next Government, rather than that it should devolve upon the body, whatever it may be, on which the next Parliament will, I hope, devolve some part of Irish administration and Irish legislation. The promotion of the material interests of Ireland will give this body ample employment; and the righting of a wrong of such unvenerable antiquity and such disastrous consequences as the denial of university education to Irish Roman Catholics, might well be the work of the Imperial Parliament at the

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

instance of a Liberal Government. No hardship that can be pleaded by English Nonconformists can compare with the hardship of depriving perhaps the quickest and most intelligent of European peoples of the means of developing their natural abilities, without doing violence to their conscientious convictions. Moreover, there are two conspicuous advantages attendant upon this method of bringing the controversy about the higher education of Irishmen to a close. One is, that it would be infinitely the more gracious method. If the new University (or the new College) is created by the machinery of Devolution, Ireland will be supplying her own wants out of her own resources. It is better that they should be supplied in this way than not supplied at all ; but those who think that England owes reparation to Ireland will desire that the machinery and the resources employed shall alike be imperial. The second reason is, that a Devolution scheme will be far more easy to frame and carry if the University question is got out of the way in advance. Devolution, with no religious issue involved in it, will have attractions, even for Ulster. This very real advantage it is in the power of Liberals to secure for their future projects, while at the same time freeing their Party from a grievous and long standing reproach.

D. C. LATHBURY

RURAL ENGLAND FROM WITHIN

NO one is better aware than the writer that he has no literary or economic qualifications for laying down the law on the difficult question of the reform of our land laws in relation to agricultural life. But when persons accredited with the name and position of statesmen in this country are seriously urging the return to Protection as a panacea for rural depopulation, I feel, even if not qualified by nature, at least prompted by indignation, to give some account of the conditions and disabilities of the country labourer's life, as I see them before my eyes, and to leave my readers to judge how far these are likely to be improved or removed by the remedies proposed by Mr. Chamberlain and his henchmen. Moreover, the Land Question is one which lends itself to localised study. We have grown so accustomed to similarities of existence in great manufacturing cities, wherever they may be situated, that we tend to forget that agricultural districts differ from one another to an extent not known in towns. Our manufacturing cities are modern. Where they have a past, it belongs to their names and not to themselves. They have yet to develop traditions. But our agricultural districts are ancient, and they bear the marks of antiquity in custom, prejudice, systems of land tenure, and tradition; for good and for evil. The fact that serfdom existed in Herefordshire to a later date than in some other parts of the country has left its mark. Hence it is difficult to treat the problem of agriculture as one problem except in one respect, namely, by recognising it as a bundle of partially distinct problems, each of which must be resolved by local inquiry, and perhaps by local legislation.

The enquiry is not easy; for the agricultural labourer is
No. 23.—VOL. VI. 161 N

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

slow of speech, and expresses himself with difficulty, even under conditions which betoken sympathy and elicit confidence. Centuries of oppression, during which he has scarcely ever dared to protest, have made him furtive, cautious, and reserved, as by instinct, in conversation with his betters on all matters affecting his ambitions, till those betters have come to believe that he has not any left. This is, no doubt, true to some extent. A leading auctioneer, in close touch with the sentiments of landlords and farmers throughout the county, recently said to the writer: "I'll tell you what it is. Bread is too cheap. The men won't work. We shall do no good without Protection"—which is another way of saying that, in some families, the labourers are so inured to hardship by generations of hopeless poverty, that they will make no effort to escape from a state of things, which they ought to, but do not, find intolerable. But if one considers the extreme reluctance of the labourer to leave the land, who shall say there is no desire for advancement in life when in the space of ten years nearly 14,000 persons have left a county of 114,000 inhabitants, chiefly from this desire to better themselves.

This it is quite evident the agricultural, the most numerous class, can not do by remaining in the country. The popularity and esteem of any trade, calling, or profession, will be very largely formed and judged by the opportunities it offers for advancement in life. Judged by this standard, the calling of agricultural labour ranks lower than any. It is the rarest thing in the world for a labourer to become a small tenant farmer. It is even rarer for him to become a small freeholder. I have spent my whole life among countrymen, and have, it is true, known rare instances of the former, but positively none of the latter. Apart from the difficulty of buying land, which will be dealt with later, this is due to two main causes: first, the wages are so low that saving is almost impossible; the next because, in practice, the custom obtains on farms of paying all men doing similar work an equal wage—and I have known numerous instances where strong and really capable men have left the land because their masters have not had the moral courage to face misunderstanding with inferior

RURAL ENGLAND FROM WITHIN

workers by raising the wages of the competent. There could be nothing better calculated to discourage industry and depress character than the knowledge that increased effort will not be followed by increased pay. Add to this, that the yokel who does save on a wage which ought not to admit of thrift, becomes so "near," hard, and suspicious in the process, that he can seldom bring himself to risk his beloved cash in any investment less secure than the stocking or the Post Office Savings Bank.

Nor can you blame him, for small holdings are few, and the competition for them so keen, that they command rents high enough to render it almost impossible for the occupier to get a living out of them. There is, within a mile and a half of where I write, an old cottage which would be condemned as uninhabitable in many urban districts, with $1\frac{3}{4}$ acres of land attached, occupied by an aged couple for many years. As their attachment to it has grown while their capacity for work has decreased, their rent has been gradually raised to £25 a year. This is mainly paid by the children in service, to keep the home over the parents' head. Hard by this holding is another with less than an acre and a half of land, of which the rent is £20. It is not surprising that, under these circumstances, there is much truth in the statement that the live stock of the small holder is often bare to the bones, that many of the small holders come to grief, and that the system of small holdings is largely discredited in consequence.

There are several reasons for the enormous rents which small holdings command. In the first place, even with all the disabilities which attach to them, the demand is greatly in excess of the supply ; and I know of instances where lately there were over forty applicants for each of two small farms. Next, from the landlord's point of view there is of course something to be said. It is urged that the cost of repairs on these small holdings is very heavy ; and this, it may be admitted, is often the case. The reason is, however, that it is the custom for these small places to be let subject to the landlord's liability for all repairs, however small ; and to the tenant it must often seem that the rent is sufficient to provide for all such contingencies. In con-

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

sequence, the tenant comes down on the landlord for every repair, big and little ; with the result that workmen have to be sent long distances, at great cost in money and time, to do small jobs which any willing and handy tenant could do for himself without the intervention of the landlord. This appears to be one of the cardinal defects in the economy of small holdings, where the occupier is a tenant instead of an owner ; and the remedy is, of course, a system of small holdings where the occupier has an owner's interest in avoiding unnecessary expense.

But, even more than any lack of openings for advancement in life, the widely-spread system of the tied cottage is responsible for rural depopulation. This is the system under which the labourer's home goes with his job, and is at the basis, more than anything else, of the inability of agricultural labourers to organise for their own defence. The cottages are let with the farm to the farmer by the landlord. In many villages, there is scarcely a cottage not so let ; and, whenever the labourer loses his job, he loses his home. In fact, it makes him a slave to the farmer, and also subject to any petty or vexatious restrictions which the landlord may impose on him through the farmer. As long as this system remains, it is futile to expect any bond of interest to exist between the workman and the land. The gardens are often miserably small and inadequate. But, even where they are not, there is usually a conspicuous absence of fruit and other trees. Flowers and fruits, if any, are those which have an early maturity, and can be realised at short notice. It is often said, that such gardens as the labourers have are neglected and badly cultivated. But what time or interest is the family likely to dedicate to the culture of land held on such terms ? To make matters worse, there are large farms, and even whole villages, where the men are forbidden to keep pigs or poultry, for fear lest they should yield to the temptation to steal their employer's corn, or be encumbered with live stock if called upon to move at short notice. The keeping of poultry is also not infrequently forbidden altogether by landlords, for fear lest the hens should cause trouble or mischief by roaming.

RURAL ENGLAND FROM WITHIN

I shall be told that these are rare and exceptional instances ; but this is by no means the case. Such things exist within sight of my house. In fact, quite recently, a clergyman who has spent his life in Herefordshire told me that this was so in his own and several other villages adjacent ; and, in addition to this, the cottagers were even forbidden to keep a cat, for fear it should kill an occasional rabbit or partridge. Not only must the labourer himself satisfy the rigid requirements of farmer and landlord, but, in many cases, especially in hop districts, the wife must "work out" when required. It is by no means uncommon for homes to be broken up because the health or inclination of the wife leads her to refuse to work out. The same clergyman also informed me that a labourer's wife, who had done his washing for years, had just called to say she could do it no longer, because her husband was threatened with notice if she undertook any work except for the farmer himself. Incidents of this kind naturally go a long way in disgusting labourers with the conditions of country life. After what has been said about the precarious tenure of the home, and the restrictions on the keeping of animals, the futility of agricultural education for rendering more attractive a rural existence will be quite apparent. To seek at school to develop interest in the care and culture of the domestic garden, pig, and hen, while the conditions of the tenure of the home make such pursuits precarious or impossible, is but to add fuel to the discontent already existing.

This by no means completes the list of the labourer's positive disabilities. In many parishes there are homes dilapidated and damp, and even ruinous with age, freely admitting draughts and wet, with or without water-supply often not above suspicion, as diphtheria proves from time to time. The by-laws permit existing cottages to be considered as adequately supplied with water if it exists within 500 yards. No effective application of sanitary laws is possible, because the Inspector is a servant of the Rural District Council, the Health and Sanitary Authority ; and that body usually consists exclusively of the chief landlords and their largest tenants. The Sanitary Inspector is thus in the position of having to enforce the law against his own

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

masters, who usually own most of the cottages ; and no one acquainted with Rural District Councils could doubt how likely the law is to be enforced under those circumstances, or what the result would be to the Inspector if it were. In some villages, such as Wellington, Herefordshire, many of the cottages are remote from the roads, and approached only by lanes, the liability for whose repair is admitted in practice neither by public authority nor private individual. In wet seasons, parents have either to keep their children at home from school, incurring fines, or carry them long distances to the roads, the mud rendering the route physically impossible for the young. Is it any wonder, under these conditions, that the agricultural labourers quit the land in the hope of bettering their lot ? This unfortunately in many cases they do not do ; and the result too often is that, instead of raising their own wages, they depress the wages of other men. But at all events they have a run for their money. In the towns, if a man is honest, sober, thrifty, and industrious, he is not without a chance of advancement. If the temptations to spend are fewer in the country, the inducements and opportunities for thrift, drink always excepted, are greater in the towns. Unquestionably a great inducement are the facilities, offered by the numerous Building Societies, for becoming the possessor of your own home. But the very idea of a co-operative society for enabling peasants to buy their own holdings is, to those who know this country, so unthinkable, as to demonstrate at once the extent to which the labourer has been divorced from the soil.

In towns there are also opportunities given by large Co-operative Societies for saving, and, what is more important, for learning to take an interesting and useful part in the conduct of large businesses ; but nowhere in the country can the counterparts to these be found. For the lack of opportunities, the organisation of industry in the country is to blame. The farmer may not be absolutely so far removed from the labourer as the manufacturer is from his employee ; but whereas, in the factory, a man may rise by gradual steps to be a ganger, a foreman, a shop manager, a manager of a department, a general manager, such steps

RURAL ENGLAND FROM WITHIN

are almost wanting between the labourer and the farmer. The agricultural labourer can not in most cases even hope to obtain a position from which his children will be able to rise. He must almost always look forward to doing what his father did, and seeing his son doing what he himself has done. Unfortunately, in the towns there are many who do not mount the ladder ; but the fact is, the conditions of country life are such as to make men over-ready to believe that they will improve their status by migrating to the towns.

Of quack and amateurish remedies there is no lack. Only the other day I heard a Radical candidate proving his interest in the Land Question by seriously claiming credit to himself for having contributed to keep the yokel on the land and out of the town, on the ground that he had organised or assisted at one village concert. Village agricultural improvement societies generally found their claim to support on the same grounds. But what would be thought of other immense industries like cotton or iron, immense, but smaller than agriculture, if they appealed for subscriptions to organise shows to educate and retain their men at their trade. Agricultural education is the latest nostrum for arresting the flow of the country's life-blood. But, as has been pointed out in this Review, the yokels do not want it, as they have no chance of becoming agriculturists ; and, so far as they are concerned, the only result is to divert to a technical education of a strictly class kind the funds which, wisely spent in their interests on a good, secondary, general education, would give them chances of rising in life in other spheres of usefulness, which, unlike agriculture, are not hopelessly closed to them by the land monopoly.

Now this land monopoly is so thorough and peculiar, that those who have had no experience of the working of things in rural England can form no idea of what it is. The re-iterated cries of Agricultural Depression, the constant Commissions to investigate its causes, the old association of landlords and mortgagees, Acts for the relief of agricultural rates, and such like, have given city folk the notion that "the land" is something ruinous to the possessor, for which purchasers cannot be found at any price.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

The fact is, that although stray farms may occasionally come into the market, often to be bought up by the adjacent magnate, in by far the larger number of villages it would be impossible to buy a few acres of land on anything approaching reasonable terms, and, in many cases, practically not on any terms. The bulk of the land is held by landlords owning from 1,000 to 5,000 or even 10,000 acres each. With few exceptions, their money has been made in trade, and invested in land, not so much for the sake of the rents as for the sake of the advantages, social, sporting, and despotic, which the owners of large estates enjoy, though, as a rule, the rents are of more importance in the second generation than the first. Now custom and prejudice have no doubt much to do with the disinclination of the landlord to sell and his desire to buy. Love of power has even more ; for in the country it is not the custom to contradict your landlord. But at the basis of custom, prejudice, and desire for power, lies the great Game Question.

It is scarcely too much to say that, in many parts of rural England, the abolition of the Game Laws would go a long way in solving the Land Question. The special value of the "ring fence," on which estate auctioneers lay so much stress, is due chiefly to its bearing on sporting rights. There are, no doubt, many landlords whose feudal or despotic instincts prompt them to complete their estates by completing the extinction of whatever remaining independent householder they may find in their village after purchase. They may do so even from economic reasons, in the interest of the farmer tenant ; that there may be no *pied à terre* for any local agitator to lead the demand for higher wages, a feat only possible when the agitator is not in certain danger of having to vacate his house and garden on a week's or a month's notice, with the certainty that he will find no other within several miles. But, above all, the village owned by one man, or "one-man village," becomes an accomplished fact from the value its realisation adds to the sporting rights of the estate, the protection it gives to the sacred birds from the gun of the small proprietor, and the facilities it furnishes for summarily ridding the parish

RURAL ENGLAND FROM WITHIN

of any man for whom poaching is suspected to have the smallest temptation. Unquestionably, if the sportsman rears birds, this "ring fence" is a *sine quâ non*, if he is also to shoot them, as the possession by a few unfriendly aliens of a very few acres here and there in the midst of what would otherwise be a high-class shoot, will enable these men to sing to the magnate : *sic vos non vobis*. And, under these conditions, preserving must either be given up, or the interlopers conciliated with sums which may nearly equal the agricultural rental value of the small holding. I know of one case where the owner of a small farm between two sporting properties was offered by a neighbouring proprietor of 2,000 acres any sum he liked to ask for his sporting rights. The same causes also which produce the "ring fence," lead to the extension of the circle. It constantly happens that the landlord who owns sufficient land to satisfy the most aristocratic instincts, and to give unlimited social salvation, comes into the market for farms adjacent to his estate, to increase the amount of ground over which he can shoot, and the number of days on which he can enjoy his hobby. But I have said enough to shew what an important part shooting will play in the settlement of the Land Question, and the difficulties it is at present placing in the way of persons who desire to acquire a few acres for agriculture or residence.

There is, of course, much land, near towns and elsewhere, in dealing with which sporting and social questions do not arise. Much of this land is owned by ecclesiastical corporations, and colleges, charity trustees, and absentee landlords, and is administered by agents who find its management so profitable, that they resist to the utmost any attempt to acquire it. A lawyer recently informed the writer, with great frankness, that this was his attitude in regard to a certain estate which he stated was as good as a pension to him and his family, and which would never be sold if he could help it, as the few pounds he would receive on its transfer would be a poor set-off against the perennial remuneration of agency. The Herefordshire County Council had, not long ago, to abandon its scheme of an experimental fruit ground, because, after duly advertising, it

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

was found impossible to acquire freehold land suitable for the purpose. To those who live in the western shires, the very idea of an agricultural labourer, whom thrift or a prosperous relative had endowed with a small fortune, going with any prospect of success to acquire a piece of ground from a large landowner, will appear absolutely ludicrous. It will be clear from this, that a drastic reform in the teeth of strong opposition will be required to carry through any measure likely to be fruitful, and not bogus or illusory, as all English Land Acts affecting labourers have been up to the present time. Those acquainted with the social conditions of the country will admit that it is not too much to say, that any encroachments upon the sporting privileges of landlords in the interests of the yokel will require not much less than the force of a revolution behind them.

The remedies proposed are legion ; and no wonder, for the conditions vary so from county to county that what is applicable to one district may not be feasible in another. At the present moment, Radical candidates are stumping the whole of agricultural England, proposing the extension of the Irish Land Purchase Bill to England, without considering that, in counties where small holdings have been almost obliterated in favour of large farms, and the few small holders overweighted with unconscionable rents, the effect would be to substitute small landlords for big in one case, and to impose a crushing burden of debt in the other, and to leave the prospects of extensive peasant proprietorship worse off than they are already. The small landlord would be more oppressive than the big to the cottagers whose homes he would own ; and, until an increase in the number of small holdings has, by reducing competition for them, reduced rents, the present occupiers could not buy their holdings on the existing rentals with any reasonable prospect of success. Other candidates are holding out the prospects of an extension of the powers of local bodies, such as Parish, District, and County Councils, in the direction of compulsory powers of acquisition, as an effective means of achieving land reform. These gentlemen are unaware of the extent to which local self-government, as it affects the labourers, is paralysed or dead. In many districts the

RURAL ENGLAND FROM WITHIN

labourers are practically disfranchised, so far as representation of their special interests goes ; and an analysis of two quite typical polling districts, entirely agricultural, in Herefordshire recently made gives the following results.

In the Yazor and Moccas polling districts, we have a population of 2216, an area of 17,253 acres. The total electorate is 474 ; and of these, excluding the clergy, whose interest is a life interest only, and who are really tenants of the Church, the ownership voters account for only 33. That is to say, these 33 own an average of 500 acres each, and the rest own none. Moreover, in ten parishes out of the 13, there are *less than* 4 owners ; and in four parishes all the land is owned entirely by one man.

Now a candidate for the County Council must have ten names at least on his nomination paper. It is practically certain that every landowner would be Tory in this and similar cases. It is equally certain, that it would be difficult or impossible to find ten cottagers, or even tenant farmers, if they did by rare chance happen to be sympathetic, willing to incur the displeasure of their landlord, by signing, on behalf of an agitator, papers which were shortly to be published in the local Press. Such constituencies as these, and they are numerous, are practically disfranchised ; for, let the landlord be as tolerant as he may, generations of oppression have taught the yokel to fight shy of running avoidable risks of this description. A new and insidious way of avoiding the Ballot Act has lately arisen, by obtaining an enormous number of names on the nomination paper of the Tory candidates. The landlords and masters of the men take round these papers to the cottagers, who are asked to affix their names. Believing that a refusal to do so would cause them to be marked men, the result is that, when election-day comes, as at Chichester, a large percentage of the voters are committed, or mistakenly believe themselves in honour committed, to the support of the Tory candidate of whom they disapprove. In a recent County Council election in Herefordshire, the papers of a Tory candidate bore names nearly equal to 25 per cent. of the votes polled. It is not alleged that they were not fairly obtained ; but the effect of such proceedings is fatal to the

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

independent exercise of the labourer's vote ; and it may be necessary for Parliament to take steps to limit the practice.

In some districts, no doubt, a genuine Small Holdings Act, conferring on local bodies compulsory powers for the acquisition of land, would lead in time to good results ; but these districts would be those adjacent to large towns, or those where the wages earned are much higher than in the south-west of England, and the tied-cottage system less prevalent. Given localities with higher wages, greater opportunities for saving, and a fair percentage of untied homes, the labourer is in a better position, from his greater independence and self-reliance, to set in motion the necessary machinery through the Parish Council, or some other form of local self-government, with a fair prospect of seeing some results. But in Herefordshire and similar counties, where the feudal disabilities of labourers have survived the feudal responsibilities of landlords, where the first instinctive reply of the labourer to the agitator has hitherto been : "I daresn't vote agenst the maister," any Act which postulated initiative on the part of the labourer would remain unfruitful and dead. It is precisely in those districts where the yokel has been most completely disinherited, where the iron of feudalism has most completely entered into his soul, where the autocracy of the squirearchy has most denuded the villages of independent spirit, that the land is, from tradition, social custom, and sporting proclivities, most tightly held, and in consequence the effort to regain possession of it would have to be strongest.

In such counties, where individual effort and political co-operation are alike impossible, a beginning would best be made by Settlements. By this is meant that a government department, acting either directly or in co-operation with local committees of sympathetic helpers, should buy up whole estates, and set them out entirely or in parts as small holdings, after the manner which some liberal landowners have already demonstrated can be made successful. It can not be too often or too emphatically repeated, that, until an inroad has been made into the present land system by this method, and a nucleus of independent men been established on the land, no help can be expected from County Councils

RURAL ENGLAND FROM WITHIN

or other smaller local bodies, which, as a class, are strongly anti-democratic, representing large farmers and landholders only. Such elements of Liberalism as they contain are due mainly, though not of course exclusively, to a certain limited class of Nonconformity, which is Liberal much more because the Church has angered it than because it loves the people. These bodies represent merely property ; and they have little or no sympathy with the aspirations or well-being of the people. If anyone is inclined to doubt this, let him investigate the wages of the employees of the District Councils—the road-men, who are amongst the worst-paid class of men in the community, receiving as they do little more than the money-wage of the agricultural labourer, without the addition of any of his perquisites.

The Settlement system seems to have economic and social recommendations scarcely to be found in any other. On a large estate, there is generally to be found one, at least, if not several good perennial supplies of uncontaminated water. These at small expense could be made available for quite a community of dwellings, if they were clustered, with the lands attached to them radiating, so to speak, from them. Under the isolated holding system, the cost of a water-supply to a small cottage is often nearly prohibitive ; or, at least, it seriously impairs the owner's prospects of success, by overcapitalising the small property. I have recently seen a new cottage where the cost of the well and pump reached the figure of £80, or the value of four acres of land when purchased in the form of a large estate. Great saving could obviously be effected in building and drainage by the Settlement system. And well-timbered hedgerows and groves and groups of trees on the estate could be retained in the hands of the Crown, reserved from sale to the tenant and merely let for shade and grazing. In this way absolute security could be taken that the magnificent timber, which is the beauty and glory of England, would be maintained intact, and even improved ; for on nearly every large estate thus purchased there would of course be not inconsiderable tracts of land which would not be suitable for small holdings. In all probability, this land, or much of it, would be available for afforestation ; and the

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

work which would be thus provided might to some extent assist in the problem of finding work for the unemployed.

Under the Settlement system, it would also pay to make new roads, which could not be done for single houses ; and the cottagers could thus be preserved from the discomfort of living on roads, as many do at present, where the constant passing of motors causes the liberty of their children to be attended with serious anxieties. The grouping of small holdings would also favour all forms of co-operation, whether in the purchase and use of agricultural machinery, or in the collection and sale of eggs, fruit, and other products of the small holding. It should be possible in such settlements to offer openings to those ambitious of becoming peasant proprietors, if they could show that they possessed from £50 to £200, according to the size of the holding. With such security, which, as the purchase money was paid off, would yearly become greater, the risk of loss to the State would be very slight. At all events, the nation which gave outright £3,000,000 to restore to their farms a few Boer farmers, might well risk a few pounds in giving easy access to the soil of old England.

At first, no doubt, many, if not most, of the applicants would be men from towns, anxious to return to the environment of their childhood. Personally, I know several who would go back to the land to-morrow if they but had the chance. But this example would be infectious ; and the agricultural labourer and his family would be stimulated to greater efficiency and unwonted enterprise and exertions, if they could see as their goal the magic prospect of ownership ahead.

It is habitually asserted by landlords, agents, clergy, and others who are supposed to speak for the yokel, that he does not want to become the owner of a small holding. These people and their system should be judged out of their own mouths ; for, if there could be one thing more melancholy than a peasantry divorced from the soil, it would be a people so crushed, passionless, and unambitious, that it had lost even the power to want it. To a great extent it has been lost ; but the recent revival of Liberalism in the agricultural shires shews that it has not been lost

RURAL ENGLAND FROM WITHIN

beyond the hope of recovery. There are no constituencies in which the Liberal vote in recent by-elections has shewn greater powers of vitality than those in which the agricultural suffrage played an important part. In the Ludlow election, the countrymen's vote was given solid against the Tory ; and it was only by the weight of the small towns, where beer and the Jingo journal still exercised their usual influences, that the scale was turned against the Liberal candidate. Those who, like the writer, have attended Liberal meetings in rural districts for the last sixteen years, cannot fail to be struck with the extraordinary interest that politics are arousing in every village. This is a new and encouraging development, because previous elections have been lost mainly from apathy on the part of the labourer. The last time South Herefordshire was contested, only some 2,800 voters went to the poll for the Liberal, out of an electorate of nearly 11,000. In one parish, where there are thirty labourers with votes, none of whom have ever voted Tory, only two took the trouble to record their votes for the Liberal at the last fight. But hope is now in the air ; and the Liberal meetings throughout the whole of rural Herefordshire have been of a size and enthusiasm such as no politician of any age has ever witnessed in the county before.

To what is this extraordinary revival to be attributed ? No doubt it was started by the proposals for taxing food and other things, but especially food. At meeting after meeting, old men rise up unasked, and give, with crushing effect, their personal experience of the bad old days. The Protection proposals have caused such resentment, that they have aroused a determination amongst the more hardy of the yokels to carry the war into the enemy's country. And the war is to be fought for the re-possession of the land. No one who has again and again felt the pulse of the country, can fail to be convinced that "free food" and "land for the people" will play a most prominent part in the next election in agricultural districts. Other subjects may be given an interested and sympathetic hearing ; but no others will arouse the spirit and enthusiasm which these everywhere elicit. Speakers are rapidly finding this out,

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

and specialising more and more on these subjects, and impressing on their audiences that the laws which disinherited and divorced them from the soil were made by man, and by man can be unmade. If the real object of statesmanship be the formation of character, there could be no reform of so much importance as land reform. An old farmer, speaking to the writer of the great reduction in the number of small holdings since he was a boy, stated that, in his opinion, the complaint constantly heard of the deterioration of character in the country districts had unfortunately too much foundation in fact. But he added, that this was due in no small measure to the absence of those human and humanising interests and occupations which were to be found in life on the small homestead. Growing up with the cow and the other much-prized possessions of their parents, the children could not fail to acquire a life-long regard and kindness for the animals, which did not desert them when they quitted their homes to become minders and keepers of live stock not their own. It is a common-place to say that, as a cradle of industrious habits, the plot of the peasant proprietor is without a rival. And, when the children leave such homes, they carry with them into domestic service, the farm, or the factory, capacities for work and progress, which are to be looked for in vain among the offspring of serfs, whose lives have been spent in sowing that others may reap. With all their limitations, imposed by others, there is no class of men so cheerful in poverty, so responsive in sympathy, so grateful for kindness, as the rustic. There is none that works harder for less pay, and none more uncomplaining of his lot. If justice be the object of the Liberal Party, there is none who has waited longer, and none who merits it so well.

E. F. BULMER

THE NEWEST PHILOSOPHY ¹

“THIS is the boast of young virility,
‘There was no world before I bade it be.
Out of his ocean bed I called the sun,
I bade the moon through all her changes run ;
To light my path the day began to shine,
The hand that decked the earth with green was mine ;
And in the bosom of primæval night
I bade the stars awake for my delight.
Free of the world, and master of it all,
I follow where it leads my inward call,
And speed, entranced, upon the wings of mind,
The dawn before me and the night behind.’”

So Baccalaureus to Mephistopheles ; and so the newest philosophy to the old. Pragmatists, Humanists, whatever name they may adopt, whatever may be their private disputes among themselves, agree at least in the profundity of their contempt for all previous philosophers. Mr. Santayana, indeed, spares the Greeks ; and for that courtesy I, for one, owe him much thanks. Democritus, Heraclitus, Plato, and Aristotle discovered, he admits, essentially all that there is to discover in philosophy. What the moderns have added, from Descartes onward, is just silly trash. We must start again with the primitive flux, the atom, the ideal ; and re-state those ancient Greek conceptions in the terms of modern experience. Mr. Santayana respects the Greeks. But others of the School are not guilty of even this weakness. “We care for nothing,” they

¹ *The Life of Reason, or the Phases of Human Progress.* By George Santayana. Vol. I. *Reason in Common Sense.* Vol II. *Reason in Society.* New York : Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd. 1905.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

cry ; "all must go." And if any one is pained by this irreverence, he cannot do better than console himself with the comment of the aged Mephistopheles—

"So ! Swagger off, my man of genius ! Oh,
How it would vex you if you did but know
That all your theory, be it false or true,
Whatever else its merit, is not new !
The fellow's not so dangerous as he seems !
A year or two will sober down his dreams.
The must may foam in folly from the vine ;
No matter ! In the end, you get the wine."

But, after all, there is no place in philosophy, or should be none, for indignation, contempt, or any such human weaknesses. Philosophy is concerned with the True and the Good, not with the recriminations of philosophers. And if only it were pursued, as it should be, by the ancient method of Socratic conversation, instead of by that of treatises and systems, novelties the most audacious and impudent would be precisely the most welcome, because they are the most provocative. But alas ! a philosopher who has written a book has nailed his colours to the mast. It is a point of honour henceforth not to admit defeat. Every new idea is an enemy, instead of a friend in disguise. And so you get controversy. And controversy is apt to resemble the Irish football-match described by Mr. Plunkett, where he found the game proceeding merrily, while the ball lay neglected in a remote corner of the field.

Nevertheless, there are a ball, and goal posts, and rules of the game. The new philosophy has an object and a direction other than the destruction of the old. And if any lay reader wishes to form an idea of what this tendency is, he cannot do better than study Mr. Santayana's recent book, *The Life of Reason*. An exposition more reasonable and lucid it would be difficult to find, or one more free from technical obscurities. Mr. Santayana, as all who are interested in literature should know, is a poet as well as a philosopher. And he has produced what is, perhaps, the first example since Plato, certainly the first since Berkeley,

THE NEWEST PHILOSOPHY

of a treatise on philosophy which is also a work of literature.

I do not know whether Mr. Santayana calls himself a "Pragmatist"; probably, if he called himself anything, he would invent a better name. Nor do I know to what extent he regards himself as a disciple of Professor James, or a fellow-fighter with Mr. Schiller or Professor Dewey. But he is in the same general tendency—a tendency which may be described as the emphasizing of the volitional elements in human experience. In some members of the School—if it is not premature to speak of a School—this tendency is pushed into what seems to be a determined and uncompromising hostility to intellect. But that is an exaggeration. The real point of the movement is to insist upon the subordination of intellect to will. And it is this that makes it so congenial to the twentieth century, and will ensure to it, when it has purged itself of its confusions, a notable future. For the twentieth century, like Goethe's *Baccalaureus*, is young, virile, and impudent. There is nothing to which it does not feel equal. And while it is converting Niagara into electricity, the illimitable veldt into Johannesburg, and roads into railways without lines, signals, or station platforms, while it is taking in hand the body and shaping it after its desire, teaching it how to sleep and eat in a reasonable way, taking sides in the perennial battle waged by the *leucocytes* against the *bacilli*, and eliminating the tonsils and the vermiform appendix, it is beginning also to squint, out of one corner of a pre-occupied eye, at those ancient metaphysical entities, God, the soul, and the world, and to promise itself a new and radical manipulation of those ideas, as soon as it has leisure for the attack. Is there not already a religion which insists that you can become anything you like, from a copper-king to a genius or a saint, by simply practising yourself in willing?

Well, it is for this Messiah that the new philosophy is making straight the way. Philosophy hitherto, like science, has given support to the idea that the general nature of the universe is definitely fixed. We, it has been thought, in knowing it, have only to copy it. It is there once for all. We are in its power. And though, within

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

narrow limits, we are permitted to tinker at its details, we can no more alter its essence than we can drink up the sea.

“Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? Declare, if thou hast understanding. Who hath laid the measures thereof, if thou knowest? Or who hath stretched the line upon it? Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened? Or who hath laid the corner-stone thereof, when the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy?”

Job did not know; but Baccalaureus does.

“Out of his ocean-bed I called the sun,
I bade the moon through all her changes run.”

We made the world, we men, says the Pragmatist. And what we made, urges, at his back, the coming generation, what we made we can un-make, and re-make. Nor is this, as an impatient reader may be inclined to assume, mere gratuitous nonsense. It is based on a certain theory of psychology, of which Professor James is the chief exponent, and which must be understood before any estimate can be formed of the nature and consequences of the philosophic tendency we are considering.

The essence of this view is, that the world we know, the world we call that of real objects, and imagine existing just as it is, whether or not there is any one to know it—that this world is the result of a process of selection and manipulation exercised within and by something which originally is an indeterminate flux, but which, in the course of the process, gradually gets transformed into a world of objects on the one hand and of observing subjects on the other. Nothing is harder to describe than this position, because all the language we have to use presupposes in its structure precisely the notions which we want to get behind. But Mr. Santayana is a master of exposition, and renders with singular lucidity and charm this epic of adventure upon the “great sea of Being.” He shows us the primitive “IT”—for what can we say except

THE NEWEST PHILOSOPHY

“IT” ?—evolving space and time, distinguishing subjects from objects, minds from things, and inventing the ideals of conduct of science and of art. For his account of this adventure in detail we can only refer to his book ; it cannot be abbreviated or summarized. But the point of the position may perhaps be sufficiently apprehended from what has been said. The universe that we know is not a mere fact, brutally, rigidly, and once for all given. It is a result of a process, and of a process that is still going on. Now from that, what follows? Here is the point of interest and of controversy. I shall endeavour, in discussing it, so far as possible to avoid the controversy ; and if, unconsciously, I do injustice to any one or anything, it will be attributed, I trust, to ignorance or incapacity, and not to malice prepense.

What, then, the new philosophy brings out, and may legitimately insist upon, seems to be something as follows.

In the process described, it was at first unconscious needs and instincts, and later, conscious desires and interests, that prompted at once the practical and what we now call the theoretical activity. Doing, making, noticing, thinking, are processes intimately connected ; they are all, so to speak, functions of needing and wanting. So far as regards all that we commonly call action, this is obvious enough, and not new. But in its application to theoretical processes it is novel and important. From the beginning, says the Pragmatist, what was noticed was what was needed. Convenience and use dictated what should be observed, and what hypotheses should be invented to facilitate and summarize observation. Our consciousness is, thus, not a mirror passively and without bias reflecting a given universe. It is an instrument created in order to reflect just this or that kind of thing, at this or that particular angle. It drops out more than it retains. And what it retains it presents in a particular handy shape, in just this or that among a myriad possible groupings and orderings, all the rest of the myriad being simply ignored. The world, in fact, of any given consciousness, is essentially *its* world. Among individuals of the same species, no doubt, all these worlds, in their main lines, are alike. But

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

we must not assume that that is so among individuals of different species. The human race, within limits, has a common world. But what do we know of the world of the fish, and the ant? These and their worlds are the results of different processes. They attend to quite different things from those to which we attend; and they group them, very likely, in quite different ways. There are as many worlds as there are species of conscious creatures. And all these worlds are the result of processes carried on in different ways, under the stress of different needs and desires, in the bosom of the primitive flux.

This, then, is the first and main outcome of the new philosophy. The way in which we think, like the way in which we act, has nothing absolute about it. It is just our way. And there are, no doubt, all sorts of other ways, equally legitimate, which, because they have not interested us, we have not developed.

It must be noticed, however, that, even if all this be granted, it does not really bring us within measurable distance of the position of Baccalaureus. For the process described is throughout one rather of selection than of creation. The original flux must, surely, be supposed to have a "nature"; and nothing can be elicited from it which was not, from the beginning, somehow in it. The process, no doubt, admitted all sorts of alternative ways of noticing or ignoring, of grouping and relating phenomena. Only, what was noticed must have been there to notice, what was related must really have had the relations observed. It was, for example, let us suppose, a matter of choice whether or no the motions of the heaven were attended to. But, once attended to, they must have been found to be as they are. The motions thus observed, it was open to us to explain, either by the Ptolemaic or the Copernican, or, for aught I know, by some other yet un conjectured hypothesis. What is not open to us, is a hypothesis which contradicts instead of explaining the data. For data there are. We did not make the sun or the stars, or the day and night; we just found them. If we had not had eyes, of course we could not have found them; and I do not rule out the hypothesis that we have eyes because we wanted to

THE NEWEST PHILOSOPHY

have them. What I do rule out is the notion that we have the sun because we wanted light. Nor, of course, do I deny the palpable fact that, within limits, we can not only observe but alter our environment. I do not even care arbitrarily to set bounds to our future capacities in that direction. Let it be granted, if any Pragmatist feels any satisfaction in imagining it, that a time may come when we can arrest the motion of the earth, and pluck the sun from the heavens. The fact remains, that we cannot do it here and now. In other words, there are facts which are independent of our will, though there are others which are plastic to it. And to say that we "make truth," or that truth is what is useful to us, is to darken counsel by epigram.

Putting aside, however, these extravagant developments of the new philosophy—developments, be it observed in passing, to which Mr. Santayana gives no kind of sanction—there remains a most important and stimulating way of looking at the world. The universe is growing. Our business is not to ascertain its eternal laws, but to find out which way it is growing, and to incline it, so far as we can, in the direction of which we approve. Practice is its central core, as it is ours; and theory is just a form of practice. Not the cognition, but the transformation of the world is our business; and we only think in order that we may act. This, I believe, when all confusions have been worked off, is what will remain as the essence of the new philosophy, and what will give it its vogue with future generations. And it is on that central point, not on incidental and often irritating confusions, that our sympathetic attention ought to be fixed.

"The must may foam in folly from the vine;
No matter! in the end you get the wine."

Hitherto we have regarded the new philosophy from the point of view of its cosmology. By its conception of the world, we have seen, it invites and inspires to action. But there is another aspect of the matter. The philosophy suggests that we may be able ultimately to get what we want. But what *do* we want; and what ought we to

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

want? . Here comes in the question of ideals, one quite distinct from the other, equally important, and even more difficult. How is this question affected by the new philosophy?

.- To begin with, we may note that the problem of the Ideal is intimately bound up with the problem of the attainable. Not, of course, that it can be assumed that only that which is attainable is good. Men have often held that the Good is unattainable, and have held it the more passionately in proportion to the depth and nobility of their insight. But, on the other hand, it would be merely folly to endeavour to realize a Good known to be unattainable. So that any discoveries which enlarge our ideas of the attainable will re-act upon the ideals we select to aim at. An Esquimaux, for example, will hardly envisage as a practical object the perfectibility of the human race, because it will never occur to him that such a thing is possible. Nor was it ever so envisaged, even among civilized nations, until an increase in men's proved capacity to master Nature prompted an extension of their ideals. It was not till the eighteenth century that the notion of progress was advanced; and if, in the short time that has succeeded, it has conquered the intellectual world, that is because the things actually achieved during the past century have led men to suppose that there is no limit to the possibility of achievement. To the ancients, too, the perfection of the race might well have appeared desirable; but, since it did not seem to them practicable, they did not make it an ideal. The point may be illustrated even better by taking for an example the ideal of the perfection, not of the race, but of the individual. This is only realizable on condition that the soul is immortal, and immortal in a particular sense. It is the fashion now, among large numbers of intelligent people, to deny the importance of this whole issue. But that is only because the question has been prejudged. They are so certain that the soul is not immortal, that they pretend that it does not matter whether it is or not. If, however, it were certain that it were, then, no doubt, in proportion as that certainty was disseminated, the nature of our effective ideals would be modified. The

THE NEWEST PHILOSOPHY

individual, instead of the race, might once more be regarded as the centre of interest. Personal passions, such as love, which many people now regard as mere irrelevant episodes in the process of race-making, might then appear to be of the first importance. Friendships might be deemed to have eternal value ; and the family and the State be relegated to the position of subsidiary means.

It will be clear from these considerations, that the new philosophy will affect our practice just in proportion as it is able to co-operate with science in enlarging the horizon of our possibilities. And to do this seems to be its main object. But there is another problem, of a different kind, which it will have to face, and as to which, so far as I have seen, it has hardly yet begun to pronounce itself. Given the existence of ideals, and their relation to practicability, there remains the problem of conflicts between them. For such conflicts do really exist. Much of the actual contention and strife in the world, no doubt, whether of one man with himself or of different men with one another, is a contention of interest against interest, or of interest against a recognized ideal, as when a man wills one thing but sincerely believes he ought to will another. History and biography are, in great part, a record of such conflicts, which are also the common theme of moralists. But there is a conflict deeper than these, more dramatic and tragic ; and that is when individuals or classes contend for different and incompatible ideals. This conflict, it is true, is often inextricably involved with others ; so that it is hard to say whether a man or a party is moved primarily by interested or by ideal motives. But, often enough, an antagonism of ideals is discoverable ; and that more particularly in an age like our own, in which the fixed conceptions that govern a period of comparative stability are dissolving, and new forces are determining new grounds of action. An example may serve to illustrate the point better than pages of disquisition.

In his interesting and suggestive Chapter on "Aristocracy," Mr. Santayana insists that the injustice inherent in that form of society outweighs the other advantages with which he credits it. "Every privilege," he says, "that imposes suffering involves a wrong"; and "suffering has an

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

added sting when it enables others to be exempt from care, and to live like the gods in irresponsible ease." Most readers of this article will, probably, agree with him. But how about the great majority who will not read it? What of the capitalists, the administrators, the soldiers, the diplomatists, the colonists, the imperialists, and all who, in their pursuit of wealth, come into contact with primitive races? These, I fancy, for the most part, whatever be their declared opinions, will be in sympathy rather with the position of Nietzsche, to whom aristocracy is the only form of society that has any value, and democracy, with all its ideals, is a mere symptom of decadence. For, as he puts it, life consists in "appropriation, injury, subjugation of the alien and the weak, oppression, hardness, imposition of one's own standards, incorporation, or at the very least exploitation." Between these two ideals, I conceive, lies the struggle of the future: the struggle between the classes and the masses, between capitalism and social democracy, between humanity and profit-making in the treatment of native races. How will this struggle be carried on? Not, clearly, by mere argument. Argument, it is true, is not altogether irrelevant; for you may be able to show that any given opinion of your opponent is inconsistent with some other opinion which he holds, and thus he may be induced to modify one or the other. But suppose there is no inconsistency? Or suppose that, in removing it, he increases instead of removing his antagonism to you? What, then, can you say? A philosopher of the Absolute will reply: "You will demonstrate to him the real nature of the world, which is also the Idea of the Good, and you will point out that his view contradicts this Idea." But the doctrine that Reality (even if it were known) is identical with Good, is an assumption, not a result, of the Spinozistic and of the Hegelian philosophy, and one that will be immediately questioned by every candid and experienced mind. Failing, then, this retort, what can you say? Refer your adversary to the "categorical imperative?" He will most certainly reply that he is unable to discover it, or that it gives him a quite different command to the one it gives you. What, then, can you say? I do not know how a Pragmatist would answer this question; but I

THE NEWEST PHILOSOPHY

incline to believe that he would say: "Fight it out!" Let us see, then, how things will appear from that point of view.

We have before us, let us continue to suppose, the conflict illustrated above—the conflict between the ideal of power and that of equality, between war and peace, between individualism and socialism, between aristocracy and democracy. One party, let us suppose, comes more and more consciously to aim, and to aim with a good conscience, at dominating the mass of men, using them as its tools, and securing in this way a free joyous activity, in which the sense of superiority is one of the main elements. This will be the party of what Nietzsche calls the "will for power." The other party, representing the masses, is against all superiorities, and all energies, such as that of war, which encourage and develop them. Comfort, security, order, harmony, equality, are its goal; and to these it is prepared to sacrifice all that its opponents value. Suppose these opposite and incompatible ideals were to disentangle themselves, and stand more or less distinctly face to face. What, then, is going to happen? Clearly, they are going to fight. And the fight will be, in the last resort, on the material plane. There will be an increasing political tension, which may break, at a certain point, into overt war. But at the same time there will be going on a moral conflict. The strongest personalities on either side will be exercising a constant influence, not only on their own followers, but on the neutrals, the puzzled, the indifferent. And they will make their personality felt, not only by their actions, but by their words. They will be eloquent, persuasive, sophistical; and all these modes of speech are modes of exercising moral force. At the same time, philosophers will be busy distinguishing and explaining, pointing out inconsistencies and deducing consequences. They too will have their effect. And the net result of this complicated struggle will be the creation in society of a certain social order, and in the social consciousness of certain more or less generally accepted convictions. This order and these convictions may not represent either of the original competing ideals. But they will be the result of their interaction; and they may maintain themselves for a long time through a period of

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

equilibrium such as commonly follows in history the great revolutions.

Something, then, will have been fought out, which may be called a solution. But what are we to think of this solution? The Pragmatist, I suppose, will be inclined to say, that, since a given order has come out top, it is right and good, or at least more right and more good than what went before. But to this philosophers of other schools, and many men who are not philosophers at all, will demur. They will repudiate such a doctrine as monstrous. For does not experience show, they will ask, over and over again, the better succumbing to the worse? Is it so clear that Marcus Aurelius was inferior to S. Paul? Were the Jesuits more right than the Humanists they supplanted? Was the victory of the Inquisition in Spain a victory of the Good over the Bad? History is full of such comments on the doctrine that success spells righteousness, which in that crude form, at least, contradicts too many ethical intuitions to be likely to win acceptance.

Let us try, then, a different position; the position which, if I understand him rightly, Mr. Santayana adopts. Let us say something as follows: "Success is not the test of Good. The only test is satisfaction. What we have in experience is a great deal of agreement about Goods; but also a great deal of disagreement. Where there is disagreement, conflict ensues, and, in the course of the conflict, opinions very likely get modified. To some extent individuals, to a greater extent successive generations, change their beliefs as a result of experience. But, since experience shows that beliefs can be and are altered, it is conceivable that there might come a time, and an order of society, in which all actual beliefs were accordant. In that case there would be no problem of Good. For scepticism is a product of conflict, with ourselves or with others; and it must cease when the conflict ceases."

On this view, disputes and conflicts about ideals can only be laid to rest by brute facts. Scepticism would be killed by universal concord. And, it will be urged, it is academic and futile to raise the further question: whether or no that which should be universally agreed to be good,

THE NEWEST PHILOSOPHY

really would be so. But *is* it academic and futile? Is there not a distinction between what *is* good, and what every one might come to think good? And is it not what *is* good, whatever that may mean or be, that is the only object that inspires us, or that ought to inspire us? I will press this question home by an example. Carlyle was fond of referring to an Eastern apologue which I cannot do better than give in his own words:—

“Perhaps few narratives in History or Mythology are more significant than that Moslem one, of Moses and the Dwellers by the Dead Sea. A tribe of men dwelt on the shores of that same Asphaltic Lake; and, having forgotten, as we are all too prone to do, the inner facts of Nature, and taken up with the falsities and outer semblances of it, were fallen into sad conditions,—verging indeed towards a certain far deeper Lake. Whereupon it pleased kind Heaven to send them the Prophet Moses, with an instructive word of warning, out of which might have sprung ‘remedial measures’ not a few. But no: the men of the Dead Sea discovered, as the valet-species always does in heroes or prophets, no comeliness in Moses; listened with real tedium to Moses, with light grinning, or with splenetic sniffs and sneers, affecting even to yawn; and signified, in short, that they found him a humbug and even a bore. Such was the candid theory these men of the Asphalt Lake formed to themselves of Moses: That probably he was a humbug, that certainly he was a bore.

“Moses withdrew; but Nature and her rigorous veracities did not withdraw. The men of the Dead Sea, when we next went to visit them, were all ‘changed into Apes’; sitting on the trees there, grinning now in the most *un*-affected manner; gibbering and chattering very genuine nonsense; finding the whole Universe now a most indisputable Humbug! The universe has *become* a Humbug to these Apes who thought it one. There they sit and chatter to this hour . . .”

Carlyle, it is true, assumed in the Apes a half-remembrance of their former state, which would have destroyed the harmony, and therefore the certitude, of their point of view. But suppose this half-remembrance to be absent.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

We have then a community in perfect agreement about the Good. Must we say, therefore, that they know and possess it? And could we, or ought we, to contemplate with equanimity the reduction of the human race to that kind of harmony? If not, then we must admit that there is a difference between what might be universally agreed to be good, and what is good; and that it is what really *is* good that we want to achieve.

The new philosophy, then, it would seem, if it is to maintain its optimistic attitude, must either assume or demonstrate that what the human race will ultimately come to hold to be good not only is attainable, but corresponds with what really is good. Or, failing that, it must be able to show that there is no distinction between Good and our ideas about Good. I do not know what line Pragmatism will take upon this matter; and I am not anxious to hurry it for a solution. In examining the conditions of a progressive meliorism I have been brought up against the problem; and there for the present I must be content to leave it.

Meantime, and to resume, we have, I will not say a philosophy, but a tendency in philosophy, very intimately connected with a tendency in life, a tendency which calls itself Pragmatism, Humanism, and, for aught I know, by other names, but which perhaps is most aptly described by Mr. Schiller's shameless pun, as a "Trialectic," a "Try-it-on." For it insists upon the tentative and experimental character, not merely of human life, but of the universe as a whole. It hates "The Absolute"; it hates "Eternity"; it hates all the conceptions about which, for the most part, philosophy hitherto has turned. Nay, it not only hates, it refuses to believe in them! It believes in time, in change, in progress, in attainable ends. It believes also, so it would appear, in free will. Whether, and in what forms, it will be able really to establish any of these beliefs, is matter for the future. But the attempt is in itself a matter of considerable interest. And this must be my excuse for endeavouring, in this imperfect form, to bring it before the attention of the general reader.

G. LOWES DICKINSON

JAPANESE EDUCATION

IN this article I shall sketch something of the systems of education in Japan, especially that of elementary education. My readers, however, must not think I have anything wonderful to show to them; for, as a matter of fact, I have nothing to take them by surprise. All that I can sum up is, that we are doing those things with the utmost sincerity, as we do other things which are already manifest to the Western public.

In days gone by, that is to say, during the feudal period, there was one college in the capital town of every feudal lord, in which the children of the retainers of Samurai were educated. There were some hundreds of such lords, some great and some petty. Their ranks and importance differed considerably, and naturally the number of their retainers differed; in consequence the scale and magnitude of such colleges also varied. The most famous of them were those of Mito, Chosiu, Kumamoto, and others belonging to great lords. Above all, there was one such belonging to the Shogunate itself. It may be here noted that institutions where the young Samurai practised the use of swords, or spears, or firearms, or the art of *jiujitsu*, were established sometimes in connection with, and sometimes independently of those colleges. There were also many plebeian colleges in different parts of the Empire. These were mostly private institutions founded by *savants*. The founders were generally of plebeian origin; but there were among them many who were originally Samurai, and who betook themselves to such occupation from love of independence, or some other causes. But it must be remembered that, though they

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

did not belong officially to the *cadre* of Samurai, yet the social respect paid to them was great. In such a private institution, the founder himself was the master, assisted by those of his pupils who were more advanced than others. The master taught the advanced pupils, or gave general lectures for the benefit of all; and the advanced taught and gave lectures to the less advanced. The pupils were generally youths of plebeian gentry, but not exclusively so, because many of the youthful Samurai from all parts of the Empire enlisted themselves as pupils, especially when any such institution had become famous on account of the achievements of the master and of the general work of the institution.

The curricula of such colleges, both of the official ones of feudal lords, and of private ones, were diverse, but generally comprised elementary as well as higher education. There was, of course, no uniform course of study to restrain the method of teaching; and every inventive faculty was employed in each college, so that many special characteristics were observable. But one thing which is undeniable was, that ethical training formed one of the most important branches everywhere.

The chief feature of the college institutions of those days, especially of private institutions, was enforced privation and hardship. I can never forget the days when I, in common with all others of course, ate meals only twice a day, and those, too, of the simplest diet. The food often consisted of nothing else than a little rice with a very little salt, or the like. We ourselves were cooks in turn. We swept and washed out, not only our own rooms, but those of the master also. We often used cold water in the depth of severe winters for the purpose of washing, and such like. We heated the water in turn for the baths of our fellow pupils. We sometimes sat up whole nights in winter with scarcely any fire to warm us, in order to accustom ourselves to rigid discipline. In those days no idea of sanitation in the modern sense entered the minds of the master or of ourselves; neither did any outward show of appearance trouble us, nay, the more one was regardless of those things, the more was one thought strong in character. It is, no

JAPANESE EDUCATION

doubt, due to the training of those days that I, personally, for instance, cannot bear the trouble of appearing like a grandee, or a fashionable person. Thus, for example, I, who never used gloves in my boyhood, cannot endure the discomfort of wearing them, even on winter days.

Amongst the lower classes (peasants or shopkeepers), there was generally one or other private person, in village or town, who could teach elementary writing and reading, and who taught the children in his neighbourhood by establishing a sort of private school. This was very commonly done by a priest of the Buddhist or Shinto temple of the place. It seems that at one time this was done almost universally by the priests of Buddhist temples; so much so, that we have the term *Tera-ko-ya*. *Tera* means a Buddhist temple, *Ko* means children, and *Ya* means a house—*Tera-Ko* came generally to mean children who go to learn elementary writing and reading, and *Tera-ko-ya* to mean the place where such children were taught. We have a famous tragedy, one act of which is called *The Scene of Terakoya*. There is a translation in German of that act by a German scholar. It is a scene which represents a tragic incident taking place in the 10th century, A.D., in a private school for children opened by an old retainer of a nobleman. It has nothing to do with a temple; and yet it is called the *Scene of Terakoya*.

It was, however, only after the inauguration of the Meiji era that education became thorough and universal. In the earliest days of this era, there was an officer called *Daigaku-Betto* (Chancellor of the University) who was a functionary of great dignity. In the course of a few years, a special Ministry was instituted for education, with a Minister of State, who, of course, had a chair in the Cabinet; and that system has ever remained the same. The Minister of Education controls the educational affairs of the whole country. At first the sphere of direct control of the central government was naturally limited to higher education; but, with the abolition of the feudal system and the gradual consolidation of local administration, the sphere has extended step by step, and has culminated in the present system of universal education.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

For the system of education also, we are indebted to Europe and America; for the method of its practical working is, like many other new institutions, borrowed from the occidental nations. The only difference perceptible, perhaps, lies in the fact that in Japan the moving force of the whole system is manipulated by the central government to a greater degree than it is in any other country—certainly far more so than it is in England. The question of how far popular education should be interfered with by the State, or rather what difference of advantage exists between the system whereby the State takes upon itself far-reaching responsibility and one whereby a great margin is left to an independent development of private institutions, is a matter which admits many *pros* and *cons*. It is not, however, my business to discuss this problem in this place. The fact remains, that with us the State exercises conspicuous influence in the matter. Almost all the educational institutions of Japan are official or public; for they belong either directly to the State or to the local administrations (Prefectural or Communal), and they are all controlled, directly or indirectly, by the Ministry of Education. There are some private institutions also, it is true; but their number is very small when compared with the others, and even those must abide by the general direction of the State. The reason of this is, that private undertakings for elementary education have to be similar to the compulsory education imposed by the State, and such similarity can only be acquired by following the general direction of the State. In those of a higher standard, it is because there are many things in which certain privileges are given to those persons who possess certain educational qualifications. For instance, in obtaining a postponement of actual enrolment for military service, or in becoming a candidate for civil service examinations, such educational qualifications are generally measured by the standard of certain public institutions; so that private institutions of higher standard have to conform themselves to the direction of the State, if they wish to avail themselves of the aforesaid privileges. The chief reason why in Japan the State takes upon itself so much responsibility in education is, apart

JAPANESE EDUCATION

from the intrinsic merit *per se* of the system, that the country, under the circumstances of the period, could not afford to wait patiently the natural growth of extensive private enterprises.

Putting aside special and technical educational institutions, as well as those of a private nature, the grades of our educational institutions are: (1) the Universities; (2) High Colleges, which may be regarded as preparatory *Alma Matres* for universities; (3) Middle Schools; (4) Higher Primary Schools; (5) Common Primary Schools.

The first two belong to the State itself. The last three belong to local administrations—in fine, there is one or more of the Middle Schools in each Prefecture, supported by the prefectural taxes, the number varying according to the requirement of the locality; and one or more Higher Primary Schools in each county, and one or more Common Primary Schools in each village-community, all supported by local rates. The case of cities is similar to that of a county and its village-communities put together. The system is thoroughly carried out throughout the country; for I can say that there is no community where a Primary School is not provided. In populous towns, there are *Kindergärten* for the benefit of little boys and girls under school age, though the number of such *Gärten* is still only a few hundreds in all.

Elementary education is compulsory for both boys and girls: the school age begins at six. Common Primary Schools are the places where compulsory education is given. The course is four years. Excuses for absence are taken only in certain cases. According to the official report of the school year of 1901-2, the percentage of the boys receiving requisite elementary education was 93.78, and that of the girls 81.80, the average being 88.05.

The present system of our writing, which is more commonly used than another which consists of phonetic letters only, is very cumbersome, because it consists of a mixture of Chinese ideographs and our phonetic letters. It is a great drawback to our education, nay to our national life. Boys and girls, however, have to learn it; and, therefore, the poor children of Japan have to take more pains

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

than those of other countries, which are blessed with the common use of a phonetic alphabet only.

Boys and girls of all classes attend the same schools—children of rich merchants and county gentry side by side with those of coolies or humblest peasants. Our schools are essentially national institutions for all classes on an equal footing. No class distinction is to be found in them. This holds good with higher institutions. There exist, of course, no longer any colleges like those of former days, which belonged to feudal lords, and were more or less exclusively used by the Samurai class. The Emperor and Empress have established, out of special interest for the education of nobility, a peers' school and a peers' girls' school in Tokio. But even these schools are not exclusively attended by boys and girls of the nobility; for children of the commons who possess a satisfactory social standard are admitted to them. On the other hand, too, children of the nobility do not necessarily join those schools only; for many such children are sent to ordinary schools, from convenience of locality or from some particular inclination of the parents. The zeal for education has been carried to such an extent, that primary education was made universally free, by a recommendation of the Diet, without questioning the means of the family to which the children belong; although under some special circumstances, trifling fees, almost nominal, may be imposed by special permission of the proper authorities.

The method of teaching in Primary Schools has developed itself in the following manner. A few years after the abolition of the feudal system, namely in 1872, the first Normal School was established in Tokio; and some seventy young students were collected. An American school teacher was engaged to train these youths for the purpose. They were divided into two classes, those who acquitted themselves with greater credit at the entrance examination having been given a place in the first class. The American teacher taught the first of these two classes exactly in the same manner as he did in America, the students having become as mere children. One or other of the students belonging to the class so taught, taught in turn the other class in a similar manner, though somewhat

JAPANESE EDUCATION

modified to suit our requirements. In conjunction with this practice, charts and simple text-books were prepared by some officials of the Ministry of Education who were attached to the school. This was soon followed by an establishment of five more government Normal Schools in different parts of the empire, and a Women's Normal School in Tokio. In the course of a few years, each Prefecture came to establish its own Normal School under subsidy of the government; and the government Normal Schools were abolished, except those established in Tokio, which were maintained as before, as a model for the local Normal Schools.

In the development of this scheme, the graduates of the first Normal School inaugurated in Tokio played an important part, of course. Since then, the system has remained the same in the main; but the method of teaching has been gradually improved by our inventions to meet our own requirements, supplemented by new intelligence brought back from the West by officials or students sent abroad for studying such matters.

The mode of making teachers at present is as follows. There is a High Normal School and a High Women's Normal School established in Tokio by the State; and another has been recently established in Hiroshima, also by the State. Their chief object is to train teachers for higher local institutions, viz., teachers of Prefectural Normal Schools, Middle Schools, and such like. In each Prefecture, one or more Normal School is established. The maximum of accommodation of the prefectural Normal Schools, together with the numbers of the students to be trained therein, is determined by an ordinance of the central government, and is made obligatory upon the Prefectures. The students who are trained in Normal Schools, both High and Prefectural, are supported by the State or by the Prefecture, as the case may be, on condition that they serve as teachers for a certain number of years. Teachers thus trained in Prefectural Normal Schools become teachers of all elementary schools. Teachers of this kind are not, of course, quite sufficient in number to fill up all the positions in all schools; so that the want, for instance, of assistants of

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

minor importance, is filled up by those to whom certificates are given on certain examination for qualification to take up such position. And, moreover, teachers of some special subject, for instance, drawing, or cutting and sewing, are appointed from those who hold special certificates from the proper authorities. I may here add, that a system of additional emolument for long services and pensions on retirement of teachers, to the local funds of which the State contributes a certain quota, was promulgated some fifteen years ago, as an inducement for their devotion.

Rigidity of physical training, in the way of privation and hardship, has become a thing of the past. But in its place physical training of a sportive and gymnastic character, after the Western style, is much practised. To this, in the case of boys, training of a military character (*jiujitsu*, fencing, and military drill and manœuvre) has been added in the case of higher grades. This begins from Higher Primary schools, varying according to age. The credit of the introduction of military drill and manœuvres into our schools and colleges, is due to the late Viscount Mori, who was at one time Japanese Minister in London. Moreover, school children are often taken out by their teachers for so-called "distant excursions"; and, in the case of the higher grades, this often takes place during summer vacation for many days or weeks, in the shape of camping out and manœuvring, or of round trips to places of historic interest, something like a pilgrimage. Such trips of large numbers of students, which are called "educational excursions," are personally conducted by the masters.

I do not propose here to describe in detail the curriculum of the Primary Schools, still less those of all institutions of higher grades, as this would only weary my readers. All these curricula are in the main similar to those of the Western nations. There is, however, one branch of which they would like me to say something: it is the teaching of morality. In former days in Japan, moral teaching meant more than half of education. Even under the altered circumstances of recent time, this notion is still kept very vividly. Especial stress in this respect, however, is laid in Primary Schools. One thing noticeable is, that with us the

JAPANESE EDUCATION

morality taught in the public schools is entirely secular. Some vague notion of heaven or of a supreme being or gods, in a vague sense, might occur here and there in the course of it; but morality never has any colour of a religious, still less of a denominational character. The main principle of morality is laid down in an imperial injunction commonly called the "Imperial Educational Rescript," which is revered by teacher and student alike; but, besides this, there are several text-books, based upon the principles laid down in the Rescript, and written in a style to suit the requirements of the grades, indeed, of each class, on a progressive method. The entity of the Rescript and the text-books form an embodiment of practical ethics illustrated by practical examples. They teach how to be honest, how to be straightforward, how to be loyal, how to be patriotic; to honour one's parents, to be truthful to friends, and such like. On this point, however, I must refer my readers to my article entitled "Moral Teaching of Japan," which appeared in one of the early numbers of this year of *The Nineteenth Century and After*, in which I have given a detailed account of the subject.

Nevertheless, I may add a few words. In Japan all virtues are mainly viewed as a point of duty of those upon whom the conduct of those virtues is incumbent. Thus, to be loyal to the Emperor is the duty of a subject; to be patriotic is the duty of a citizen to his country; truthfulness is the duty of a friend; and reverence is the duty of a child to its parents; and so on. In teaching morality to children, the sense of duty is constantly kept in view. Then again, in oriental ethics the term "name" has an important bearing. It may often be translated as "fame"; but it has in reality a wider and more pious signification. We have a proverb: "Tigers leave skins behind when dead, and men leave (or should leave) names." Here the term "name" may certainly be translated as "fame"; but we often say that "we must not disgrace the name," meaning that we must not disgrace ourselves or our family by committing any unworthy action. In Japan, to acquire fame and not disgrace one's family name are concurrent thoughts. Fame does not mean a satisfaction of vanity.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

The trend of thought is something like this: "Do not commit any bad act, for it will disgrace your name, which is the greatest shame to one's self and to one's family. If your name shines out, so much the better, as it is a sure sign that you have behaved well or have done something good, something worthy of yourself, your family, or your ancestors; but to seek notoriety out of mere vanity is despicable, for it is not good conduct and does not deserve a good name." This notion of "name" permeates very widely in our idea of morality, which fact will explain many cases wherein a Japanese prefers death to life. Perhaps the word "honour" may convey the nearer meaning of the word "name"; in fact, the Western word "honour" is generally translated in Japanese by a combination of the words name and fame, as "Meiyo." This notion of "name" is impressed in one way or other upon the minds of our youths from childhood, that is to say, from their days of elementary education; and it exercises a great influence in after life.

K. SUYEMATSU

ON MAKING HAY

THERE is a valley in South England remote from ambition and from fear, where the passage of strangers is rare and unperceived, and where the scent of the grass in summer is breathed only by those who are native to that secluded land. The roads to the Channel do not traverse it; they choose upon either side easier passes over the range. One track alone leads up through it to the hills, and this is changeable: now green where men have little occasion to go, now a good road where it nears the homesteads and the barns. The woods grow steep above the slopes; they reach sometimes the very summit of the heights, or, when they cannot attain them, fill in and clothe the combes. And, in between, along the floor of the valley, deep pastures and their silence are bordered by the lawns of chalky grass and the small yew trees of the Downs.

The clouds that visit its sky reveal themselves beyond the one great rise, and sail, white and enormous, to the other, and sink beyond that other. But the plains above which they have travelled and the Weald to which they go, the people of the valley cannot see, and hardly recall. The wind, when it reaches such fields, is no longer a gale from the salt, but fruitful and soft, an inland breeze; and those whose blood was nourished here feel in that wind the fruitfulness of our orchard, and all the life that all things draw from air.

In this place, when I was a boy, I pushed through a fringe of beeches that made a complete screen between me and the world, and I came to a glade called No-man's-land. I climbed beyond it, and I was surprised and glad, because

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

from the ridge of that glade I saw the sea. To this place very lately I returned.

The many things that I recovered as I came up the country-side were not less charming than when a distant memory had enshrined them, but much more. Whatever veil is thrown by a longing recollection had not intensified nor even made more mysterious the beauty of that happy ground; not in my very dreams of morning had I, in exile, seen it more beloved or more rare. Much also that I had forgotten now returned to me as I approached—a group of elms, a little turn of the parson's wall, a small paddock beyond the graveyard close, cherished by one man, with a low wall of very old stone guarding it all around. And all these things fulfilled and amplified my delight, till even the good vision of the place, which I had kept so many years, left me and was replaced by its better reality. "Here," I said to myself, "is a symbol of what some say is reserved for the soul: pleasure of a kind which cannot be imagined save in the moment when at last it is attained."

When I came to my own gate and my own field, and had before me the house I knew, I looked around a little (though it was already evening), and I saw that the grass was standing as it should stand when it is ready for the scythe. For in this as in everything that a man can do—of those things at least which are very old—there is an exact moment when they are done best. And it has been remarked of whatever rules us that it works blunderingly, seeing that the good things given to man are not given at the precise moment when they would have filled him with delight. But, whether this be true or false, we can choose the just turn of the seasons in everything we do of our own will, and especially in the making of hay. Many think that hay is best made when the grass is thickest; and so they delay until it is rank and in flower, and has already heavily pulled the ground. And there is another false reason for delay, which is wet weather. For very few will understand (though it comes year after year) that we have rain always in South England between the sickle and the scythe, or say just after the weeks of east wind are over.

ON MAKING HAY

First we have a week of sudden warmth, as though the South had come to see us all ; then we have the weeks of east and south-east wind ; and then we have more or less of that rain of which I spoke, and which always astonishes the world. Now it is just before, or during, or at the very end of that rain—but not later—that grass should be cut for hay. True, upland grass, which is always thin, should be cut earlier than the grass in the bottoms and along the water meadows ; but not even the latest, even in the wettest seasons, should be left (as it is) to flower and even to seed. For what we get when we store our grass is not a harvest of something ripe, but a thing just caught in its prime before maturity : as witness that our corn and straw is best yellow, but our hay is best green. So also Death should be represented with a scythe and Time with a sickle ; for Time can take only what is ripe, but Death comes always too soon. In a word, then, it is always much easier to cut grass too late than too early ; and I, under that evening and come back to these pleasant fields, looked at the grass and knew that it was time. June was in full advance : it was the beginning of that season when the night begins to lose her foothold of the earth and to hover over, never quite descending, but mixing sunset with the dawn.

Next morning before it was yet broad day I awoke, and thought of the mowing. The birds were already chattering in the trees beside my window, all except the nightingale, which had left and flown away to the Weald, where he sings all summer by day as well as by night in the oaks and the hazel spinnies, and especially along the little river Adur, one of the rivers of the Weald. The birds and the thought of the mowing had awakened me, and I went down the stairs and along the stone floors to where I would find a scythe ; and when I took it from its nail I remembered how, fourteen years ago, I had last gone out with my scythe, just so, into the fields at morning. In between that day and this were many things, cities and armies, and a confusion of books, mountains and the desert, and horrible great breadths of sea.

When I got out into the long grass, the sun was not yet risen ; but there were already many colours in the eastern

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

sky, and I made haste to sharpen my scythe, so that I might get to the cutting before the dew should dry. Some say that it is best to wait till all the dew has risen, so as to get the grass quite dry from the very first. But, though it is an advantage to get the grass quite dry, yet it is not worth while to wait till the dew has risen. For in the first place you lose many hours of work (and those the coolest) and next—which is more important—you lose that great ease and thickness in cutting which comes of the dew. So I at once began to sharpen my scythe.

There is an art also in the sharpening of a scythe ; and it is worth describing carefully. Your blade must be dry ; and that is why you will see men rubbing the scythe-blade with grass before they whet it. Then also your rubber must be quite dry ; and on this account it is a good thing to lay it on your coat and keep it there during all your day's mowing. The scythe you stand upright, with the blade pointing away from you, and you put your left hand firmly on the back of the blade, grasping it : then you pass the rubber first down one side of the blade-edge and then down the other, beginning near the handle and going on to the point and working quickly and hard. When you first do this you will perhaps cut your hand ; but it is only at first that such an accident will happen to you. To tell when the scythe is sharp enough this is the rule. First the stone clangs and grinds against the iron harshly ; then it rings musically to one note ; then, at last, it purrs as though the iron and stone were exactly suited. When you hear this, your scythe is sharp enough ; and I, when I heard it in that June dawn, with everything quite silent except the birds, let down the scythe and bent myself to mow.

When one does anything anew, after so many years, one fears very much for one's trick or habit. But all things once learnt are easily recoverable ; and I very soon recovered the swing and power of the mower. Mowing well and mowing badly—or rather not mowing at all—are separated by very little ; as is also true of writing verse, of playing the fiddle, and of dozens of other things, but of nothing more than of believing. For the bad or young or untaught mower, the mower without tradition, the mower Promethean,

ON MAKING HAY

the mower original and contemptuous of the Past, does all these things :—He leaves great crescents of grass uncut. He digs the point of the scythe hard into the ground with a jerk. He loosens the handles and even the fastening of the blade. He twists the blade with his blunders, he blunts the blade, he chips it, dulls it, or breaks it clean off at the tip. If any one is standing by he cuts him in the ankle. He sweeps up into the air wildly, with nothing to resist his stroke. He drags up earth with the grass, which is like making the meadow bleed. But the good mower who does things just as they should be done and have been for a hundred thousand years, falls into none of these fooleries. He goes forwards very steadily, his scythe-blade just barely missing the ground, every grass falling ; the swish and rhythm of his mowing are always the same.

So great an art can only be learnt by a continual practice ; but this much is worth writing down, that, as in all good work, to know the thing with which you work is the core of the affair. Good verse is best written on good paper with an easy pen, not with a lump of coal on a whitewashed wall. The pen thinks for you ; and so does the scythe mow for you, if you treat it honourably and in a manner that makes it recognise its service. The manner is this. You must regard the scythe as a pendulum that swings, not as a knife that cuts. A good mower puts no more strength into his stroke than into his lifting. Again, stand up to your work. The bad mower, eager and full of pain, leans forward and tries to force the scythe through the grass. The good mower, serene and able, stands as nearly straight as the shape of the scythe will let him and follows up every stroke closely, moving his left foot forward. Then also let every stroke get well away. Mowing is a thing of ample gestures, like the drawing of a cartoon. Then again, get you into a mechanical and repetitive mood : be thinking of anything at all but your mowing, and be anxious only when there seems some interruption to the monotony of the sound. In this mowing should be like one's prayers : all of a sort and always the same, and so made that you can establish a monotony and work them,

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

as it were, with half your mind :—that happier half, the half that does not bother.

In this way, when I had recovered the art after so many years, I went forward over the field, cutting lane after lane through the grass, and bringing out its most secret essences with the sweep of the scythe, until the air was full of odours. At the end of every lane I sharpened my scythe and looked back at the work done, and then carried my scythe down again upon my shoulder to begin another. So, long before the bell rang in the chapel on the hill above me, that is, long before six o'clock, which is the time for the Angelus, I had many swathes already lying in order parallel like soldiery ; and the high grass yet standing, making a great contrast with the shaven part, looked dense and high. As it says in the *Ballad of Val-ès-Dunes* ; where :—

“ The tall son of the Snow Winds
Came riding out of Hither-hythe,”

and his horsehoofs (you will remember) trampled into the grass and made a gap in it, and his sword (as you know)

“ . . . was like a scythe,
In Arcus when the grass is high
And all the swathes in order lie,
And there's the bailiff standing by
A-gathering of the tithe.”

So I mowed all that morning, till the houses awoke in the valley, and from some of them rose a little fragrant smoke, and men began to be seen.

I stood still and rested on my scythe to watch the awakening of the village, when I saw coming up to my field a man whom I had known in older times, before I had left the valley.

He was of that dark silent race upon which all the learned quarrel, but which, by whatever meaningless name it may be called, Iberian or Celtic or what-you-will, is the permanent root of all England, and makes English wealth and preserves it everywhere, except perhaps in the Fens

ON MAKING HAY

and in a part of Yorkshire. Everywhere else you will find it active and strong. These people are intensive; their thoughts and their labours turn inward. It is on account of their presence in these islands that our gardens are the richest in the world. They also love low rooms and ample fires and great warm slopes of thatch. They have, as I believe, an older acquaintance with the English air than any other of all the strains that make up England. They hunted in the Weald with stones, and camped in the pines of the green-sand. They lurked under the oaks of the upper rivers, and saw the legionaries go up, up the straight paved road from the sea. They helped the Jew pirates to destroy the towns, and mixed with those pirates and shared the spoil of the villas, and were glad to see the captains and the priests destroyed. They remain; and no admixture of the Frisian pirates, or the Breton or the Angevin and Norman conquerors, has very much affected their cunning eyes.

To this race, I say, belonged the man who now approached me. And he said to me: "Mowing?"; and I answered "Ar." Then he also said "Ar," as in duty bound; for so we speak to each other in the Stenes of the Downs.

Next he told me that, as he had nothing to do, he would end me a hand; and I thanked him warmly, or, as we say, "kindly." For it is a good custom of ours always to treat bargaining as though it were a courteous pastime; and though what he was after was money, and what I wanted was his labour at the least pay, yet we both played the comedy that we were free men, the one granting a grace and the other accepting it. For the dry bones of commerce, avarice and method and need, are odious to the Valley; and we cover them up with a pretty body of fiction and observances. Thus, when it comes to buying pigs, the buyer does not begin to decry the pig and the vendor to praise it, as is the custom with lesser men; but tradition makes them do business in this fashion:—

First the buyer will go up to the seller when he sees him in his own steading, and, looking at the pigs with admiration, the buyer will say that rain may or may not fall, or that we shall have snow or thunder, according

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

to the time of year. Then the seller, looking critically at the pig, will agree that the weather is as his friend maintains. There is no haste at all ; great leisure marks the dignity of their exchange. And the next step is, that the buyer says : " That's a fine pig you have there, Mr. ——" (giving the seller's name). " Ar, powerful fine pig." Then the seller, saying also " Mr." (for twin brothers rocked in one cradle give each other ceremonious observance here), the seller, I say, admits, as though with reluctance, the strength and beauty of the pig, and falls into deep thought. Then the buyer says, as though moved by a great desire, that he is ready to give so much for the pig, naming half the proper price or a little less. Then the seller remains in silence for some moments ; and at last begins to shake his head slowly, till he says : " I don't be thinking of selling the pig anyways." He will also add that a party only Wednesday offered him so much for the pig—and he names about double the proper price. Thus all ritual is duly accomplished ; and the solemn act is entered upon with reverence and in a spirit of truth. For when the buyer uses this phrase : " I'll tell you what I *will* do," and offers within half-a-crown of the pig's value, the seller replies that he can refuse him nothing and names half-a-crown above its value ; the difference is split, the pig is sold, and in the rich soul of each rhymes the peace of something accomplished.

Thus do we buy a pig or land or labour or malt or lime, always with elaboration and set forms ; and many a London man has paid double and more for his violence and his greedy haste and very unchivalrous higgling. As happened with the land at Underwaltham, which the mortgagees had begged and implored the estate to take at twelve hundred and had privately offered to all the world at a thousand, but which a sharp direct man, of the kind that makes great fortunes, a man in a motor car, a man of few words, bought for two thousand three hundred before my very eyes, protesting that they might take his offer or leave it ; and all because he did not begin by praising the land.

Well then, this man I spoke of offered to help me, and

ON MAKING HAY

he went to get his scythe. But I went into the house and brought out a gallon jar of small ale for him and for me ; for the sun was now very warm and small ale goes well with mowing. When we had drunk some of this ale in mugs called "I see you," we took each a swathe, he a little behind me because he was the better mower ; and so for many hours we swung, one before the other, mowing and mowing at the tall grass of the field. And the sun rose to noon and we were still at our mowing ; and we eat food, but only for a little while, and we took again to our mowing. And at last there was nothing left but a small square of grass, standing like a square of linesmen who keep their formation, tall and unbroken, with all the dead lying around them when a battle is over and done.

Then for some little time I rested after all those hours ; and the man and I talked together, and a long way off we heard in another field the musical sharpening of a scythe.

The sunlight slanted powdered and mellow over the breadth of the valley ; for day was nearing its end. I went to fetch rakes from the steading ; and when I had come back the last of the grass had fallen, and all the field lay flat and smooth, with the very green short grass in lanes between the dead and yellow swathes.

These swathes we raked into cocks to keep them from the dew against our return at day-break ; and we made the cocks as tall and steep as we could, for in that shape they best keep off the dew and it is easier also to spread them after the sun has risen. Then we raked up every straggling blade, till the whole field was a clean floor for the tedding and the carrying of the hay next morning. The grass we had mown was but a little over two acres ; for that is all the pasture on my little tiny farm.

When we had done all this, there fell upon us the beneficent and deliberate evening ; so that as we sat a little while together near the rakes, we saw the valley more solemn and dim around us, and all the trees and hedge-rows quite still, and held by a complete silence. Then I paid my companion his wage, and bade him a good night, till we should meet in the same place before sunrise.

He went off with a slow and steady progress, as all our

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

peasants do, making their walking a part of the easy but continual labour of their lives. But I sat on, watching the light creep around towards the north and change, and the waning moon coming up as though by stealth behind the woods of No-man's-land.

H. BELLOC

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

CHAPTER III

MISS RABY and Elizabeth were seated together in the lounge of the *Hôtel des Alpes*. They had walked up from the *Biscione* to see Colonel Leyland. But he, apparently, had walked down there to see them ; and the only thing to do was to wait, and to justify the wait by ordering some refreshment. So Miss Raby had afternoon tea, while Elizabeth behaved like a perfect lady over an ice, occasionally turning the spoon upside down in her mouth when she saw that no one was looking. The under waiters were clearing cups and glasses off the marble topped tables ; and the gold laced officials were rearranging the wicker chairs into seductive groups of three and two. Here and there the visitors lingered among their crumbs ; and the Russian Prince had fallen asleep in a prominent and ungraceful position. But most people had started for a little walk before dinner, or had gone to play tennis, or had taken a book under a tree. The weather was delightful ; and the sun had so far declined that its light had become spiritualised, suggesting new substance as well as new colour in everything on which it fell. From her seat Miss Raby could see the great precipices under which they had passed the day before ; and beyond those precipices she could see Italy—the Val d'Aprile, the Val Senese, and the mountains she had named "The Beasts of the South." All day those mountains were insignificant—distant chips of white or grey stone. But the evening sun transfigured them ; and they would sit up like purple bears against the southern sky.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

"It is a sin you should not be out, Elizabeth. Find your friend if you can, and make her go with you. If you see Colonel Leyland, tell him I am here."

"Is that all, ma'am?" Elizabeth was fond of her eccentric mistress, and her heart had been softened by the ice. She saw that Miss Raby did not look well. Possibly the course of love was running roughly. And indeed gentlemen must be treated with tact : especially when both parties are getting on.

"Don't give pennies to the children : that is the only other thing."

The guests had disappeared, and the number of officials visibly diminished. From the hall behind came the genteel sniggers of those two most vile creatures, a young lady behind the bureau and a young man in a frock coat who shows new arrivals to their rooms. Some of the porters joined them, standing at a suitable distance. At last only Miss Raby, the Russian Prince, and the *concierge*, were left in the lounge.

The *concierge* was a competent European of forty or so, who spoke all languages fluently, and some well. He was still active, and had evidently once been muscular. But either his life or his time of life had been unkind to his figure : in a few years he would certainly be fat. His face was less easy to decipher. He was engaged in the unquestioning performance of his duty ; and that is not a moment for self-revelation. He opened the windows, he filled the match-boxes, he flicked the little tables with a duster, always keeping an eye on the door in case any one arrived without luggage, or left without paying. He touched an electric bell ; and a waiter flew up and cleared away Miss Raby's tea things. He touched another bell, and sent an underling to tidy up some fragments of paper which had fallen out of a bedroom window. Then "Excuse me, madam !" and he had picked up Miss Raby's handkerchief with a slight bow. He seemed to bear her no grudge for her abrupt departure of the preceding evening. Perhaps it was into his hand that she had dropped a tip. Perhaps he did not remember she had been there.

The gesture with which he returned the handkerchief

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

troubled her with vague memories. Before she could thank him he was back in the doorway, standing sideways, so that the slight curve of his stomach was outlined against the view. He was speaking to a youth of athletic but melancholy appearance, who was fidgeting in the portico without. "I told you the percentage," she heard. "If you had agreed to it, I would have recommended you. Now it is too late. I have enough guides."

Our generosity benefits more people than we suppose. We tip the cabman, and something goes to the man who whistled for him. We tip the man who lights up the stalactite grotto with magnesium wire; and something goes to the boatman who brought us there. We tip the waiter in the restaurant; and something goes off the waiter's wages. A vast machinery, whose existence we seldom realise, promotes the distribution of our wealth. When the *concierge* returned, Miss Raby asked: "And what is the percentage?"

She asked with the definite intention of disconcerting him, not because she was unkind, but because she wished to discover what qualities, if any, lurked beneath that civil, efficient exterior. And the spirit of her enquiry was sentimental rather than scientific.

With an educated man she would have succeeded. In attempting to reply to her question, he would have revealed something. But the *concierge* had no reason to pay even lip service to logic. He replied: "Yes, madam! this is perfect weather, both for our visitors and for the hay," and hurried to help a bishop, who was selecting a picture postcard.

Miss Raby, instead of moralising on the inferior resources of the lower classes, acknowledged a defeat. She watched the man spreading out the postcards, helpful yet not obtrusive, alert yet deferential. She watched him make the bishop buy more than he wanted. This was the man who had talked of love to her upon the mountain. But hitherto he had only revealed his identity by chance gestures bequeathed to him at birth. Intercourse with the gentle classes had required new qualities—civility, omniscience, imperturbability. It was the old answer: the gentle classes

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

were responsible for him. It is inevitable, as well as desirable, that we should bear each other's burdens.

It was absurd to blame Feo for his worldliness,—for his essential vulgarity. He had not made himself. It was even absurd to regret his transformation from an athlete: his greasy stoutness, his big black kiss-curl, his waxed moustache, his chin which was dividing and propagating itself like some primitive form of life. In England, nearly twenty years before, she had altered his figure as well as his character. He was one of the products of *The Eternal Moment*.

A great tenderness overcame her—the sadness of an unskilful demiurge, who makes a world and beholds that it is bad. She desired to ask pardon of her creatures, even though they were too poorly formed to grant it. The longing to confess, which she had suppressed that morning beside the bed of Signora Cantù, broke out again with the violence of a physical desire. When the bishop had gone she renewed the conversation, though on different lines, saying: “Yes, it is beautiful weather. I have just been enjoying a walk up from the *Biscione*. I am stopping there!”

He saw that she was willing to talk, and replied pleasantly: “The *Biscione* must be a very nice hotel: many people speak well of it. The fresco is very beautiful.” He was too shrewd to object to a little charity.

“What lots of new hotels there are!” She lowered her voice in order not to rouse the Prince, whose presence weighed on her curiously.

“Oh, madam! I should indeed think so. When I was a lad—excuse me one moment.”

An American girl, who was new to the country, came up with her hand full of coins, and asked him hopelessly “whatever they were worth.” He explained, and gave her change: Miss Raby was not sure that he gave her right change.

“When I was a lad——” He was again interrupted, to speed two parting guests. One of them tipped him; he said “thank you.” The other did not tip him: he said “thank you,” all the same, but not in the same way. Obviously he had as yet no recollections of Miss Raby.

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

"When I was a lad, Vorta was a poor little place."

"But a pleasant place?"

"Very pleasant, madam."

"Kouf!" said the Russian Prince, suddenly waking up and startling them both. He clapped on a felt hat, and departed at full speed for a constitutional. Miss Raby and Feo were left together.

It was then that she ceased to hesitate, and determined to remind him that they had met before. All day she had sought for a spark of life; and it might be summoned by pointing to that other fire which she discerned, far back in the travelled distance, high up in the mountains of youth. What he would do, if he also discerned it, she did not know; but she hoped that he would become alive, that he at all events would escape the general doom which she had prepared for the place and the people. And what she would do, during their joint contemplation, she did not even consider.

She would hardly have ventured if the sufferings of the day had not hardened her. After much pain, respectability becomes ludicrous. And she had only to overcome the difficulty of Feo's being a man, not the difficulty of his being a *concierge*. She had never observed that spiritual reticence towards social inferiors which is usual at the present day.

"This is my second visit," she said boldly. "I stayed at the *Biscione* twenty years ago."

He showed the first sign of emotion: *that* reference to the *Biscione* annoyed him.

"I was told I should find you up here," continued Miss Raby. "I remember you very well. You used to take us over the passes."

She watched his face intently. She did not expect it to relax into an expansive smile. "Ah!" he said, taking off his peaked cap; "I remember you perfectly, madam. What a pleasure, if I may say so, to meet you again!"

"I am pleased, too," said the lady, looking at him doubtfully.

"You and another lady, madam, was it not? Miss——"

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

"Mrs. Harbottle."

"To be sure; I carried your luggage. I often remember your kindness."

She looked up. He was standing near an open window, and the whole of fairy land stretched behind him. Her sanity forsook her, and she said gently: "Will you misunderstand me, if I say that I have never forgotten your kindness either?"

He replied: "The kindness was yours, madam; I only did my duty."

"Duty?" she cried; "what about duty?"

"You and Miss Harbottle were such generous ladies. I well remember how grateful I was: you always paid me above the tariff fare——"

Then she realised that he had forgotten everything; forgotten her, forgotten what had happened, even forgotten what he was like when he was young.

"Stop being polite," she said coldly. "You were not polite when I saw you last."

"I am very sorry," he exclaimed, suddenly alarmed.

"Turn round. Look at the mountains."

"Yes, yes." His fishy eyes blinked nervously. He fiddled with his watch chain which lay in a furrow of his waistcoat. He ran away to warn some poorly dressed children off the view terrace. When he returned she still insisted.

"I must tell you," she said, in calm, business-like tones. "Look at that great mountain, round which the road goes south. Look half way up, on its eastern side—where the flowers are. It was there that you once gave yourself away."

He gaped at her in horror. He remembered. He was inexpressibly shocked.

It was at that moment that Colonel Leyland returned.

She walked up to him saying: "This is the man I spoke of yesterday."

"Good afternoon; what man?" said Colonel Leyland fussily. He saw that she was flushed, and concluded that someone had been rude to her. Since their relations were somewhat anomalous, he was all the more particular that she should be treated with respect.

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

"The man who fell in love with me when I was young."

"It is untrue!" cried the wretched Feo, seeing at once the trap that had been laid for him. "The lady imagined it. I swear, sir,—I meant nothing. I was a lad. It was before I learnt behaviour. I had even forgotten it. She reminded me. She has disturbed me."

"Good Lord!" said Colonel Leyland. "Good Lord!"

"I should lose my place, sir; and I have a wife and children. I shall be ruined."

"Sufficient!" cried Colonel Leyland. "Whatever Miss Raby's intentions may be, she does not intend to ruin you."

"You have misunderstood me, Feo," said Miss Raby gently.

"How unlucky we have been missing each other," said Colonel Leyland, in trembling tones that were meant to be nonchalant. "Shall we go a little walk before dinner? I hope that you are stopping."

She did not attend. She was watching Feo. His alarm had subsided; and he revealed a new emotion, even less agreeable to her. His shoulders straightened, he developed an irresistible smile, and, when he saw that she was looking and that Colonel Leyland was not, he winked at her.

It was a ghastly sight, perhaps the most hopelessly depressing of all the things she had seen at Vorta. But its effect on her was memorable. It evoked a complete vision of that same man as he had been twenty years before. She could see him to the smallest detail of his clothes or his hair, the flowers in his hand, the graze on his wrist, the heavy bundle that he had loosed from his back so that he might speak as a freeman. She could hear his voice, neither insolent nor diffident, never threatening, never apologising, urging her first in the studied phrases he had learnt from books, then, as his passion grew, becoming incoherent, crying that she must believe him, that she must love him in return, that she must fly with him to Italy, where they would live for ever, always happy, always young. She had cried out then, as a young lady should, and had thanked him not to insult her. And now, in her middle age, she cried out

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

again, because the sudden shock and the contrast had worked a revelation. "Don't think I'm in love with you now!" she cried.

For she realised that only now was she not in love with him: that the incident upon the mountain had been one of the great moments of her life—perhaps the greatest, certainly the most enduring: that she had drawn unacknowledged power and inspiration from it, just as trees draw vigour from a subterranean spring. Never again could she think of it as a half humorous episode in her development. There was more reality in it than in all the years of success and varied achievement which had followed, and which it had rendered possible. For all her correct behaviour and lady-like display, she had been in love with Feo; and she had never loved so greatly again. A presumptuous boy had taken her to the gates of heaven; and, though she would not enter with him, the eternal remembrance of the vision had made life seem endurable and good.

Colonel Leyland, by her side, babbled respectabilities, trying to pass the situation off as normal. He was saving her; for he liked her very much, and it pained him when she was foolish. But her last remark to Feo had frightened him; and he began to feel that he must save himself. They were no longer alone. The bureau lady and the young gentleman were listening breathlessly; and the porters were tittering at the discomfiture of their superior. A French lady had spread among the guests the agreeable news that an Englishman had surprised his wife making love to the *concierge*. On the terrace outside, a mother waved away her daughters. The bishop was preparing, very leisurely, for a walk.

But Miss Raby was oblivious. "How little I know!" she said. "I never knew till now that I had loved him and that it was a mere chance—a little catch, a kink—that I never told him so."

It was her habit to speak out; and there was no present passion to disturb or prevent her. She was still detached, looking back at a fire upon the mountains, marvelling at its increased radiance, but too far off to feel its heat. And by speaking out she believed, pathetically enough, that she was

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

making herself intelligible. Her remark seemed inexpressibly coarse to Colonel Leyland.

"But these beautiful thoughts are a poor business, are they not?" she continued, addressing Feo, who was losing his gallant air, and becoming bewildered. "They're hardly enough to grow old on. I think I would give all my imagination, all my skill with words, if I could recapture one crude fact, if I could replace one single person whom I have broken."

"Quite so, madam," he responded, with downcast eyes.

"If only I could find someone here who would understand me, to whom I could confess, I think I should be happier. I have done so much harm in Vorta, dear Feo—"

Feo raised his eyes. Colonel Leyland struck his stick on the parquet floor.

"——and at last I thought I would speak to you, in case you understood me. I remembered that you had once been very gracious to me—yes, gracious : there is no other word. But I have harmed you also : how could you understand?"

"Madam, I understand perfectly," said the *concierge*, who had recovered a little, and was determined to end the distressing scene, in which his reputation was endangered, and his vanity aroused only to be rebuffed. "It is you who are mistaken. You have done me no harm at all. You have benefited me."

"Precisely," said Colonel Leyland. "That is the conclusion of the whole matter. Miss Raby has been the making of Vorta."

"Exactly sir. After the lady's book, foreigners come, hotels are built, we all grow richer. When I first came here, I was a common ignorant porter who carried luggage over the passes ; I worked, I found opportunities, I was pleasing to the visitors—and now !" He checked himself suddenly. "Of course I am still but a poor man. My wife and children——"

"Children !" cried Miss Raby, suddenly seeing a path of salvation. "What children have you?"

"Three little dear boys," he replied, without enthusiasm.

"How old is the youngest?"

"Madam, five."

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

"Let me have that child," she said impressively; "and I will bring him up. He shall live among rich people. He shall see that they are not the vile creatures he supposes, always clamouring for respect and deference and trying to buy them with money. Rich people are good: they are capable of sympathy and love: they are fond of the truth; and when they are with each other they are clever. Your boy shall learn this, and he shall try to teach it to you. And when he grows up, if God is good to him he shall teach the rich: he shall teach them not to be stupid to the poor. I have tried myself; and people buy my books and say that they are good, and smile and lay them down. But I know this: so long as the stupidity exists, not only our charities and missions and schools, but the whole of our civilisation, are vain."

It was painful for Colonel Leyland to listen to such phrases. He made one more effort to rescue Miss Raby. "Je vous prie de ne pas——" he began gruffly, and then stopped, for he remembered that the *concierge* must know French. But Feo was not attending, nor, of course, had he attended to the lady's prophecies. He was wondering if he could persuade his wife to give up the little boy, and, if he did, how much they dare ask from Miss Raby without repulsing her.

"That will be my pardon," she continued, "if out of the place where I have done so much evil I bring some good. I am tired of memories, though they have been very beautiful. Now, Feo, I want you to give me something else: a living boy. I shall always puzzle you; and I cannot help it. I have changed so much since we met, and I have changed you also. We are both new people. Remember that; for I want to ask you one question before we part, and I cannot see why you shouldn't answer it. Feo! I want you to attend."

"I beg your pardon, madam," said the *concierge*, rousing himself from his calculations. "Is there anything I can do for you?"

"Answer 'yes' or 'no'; that day when you said you were in love with me—was it true?"

It was doubtful whether he could have answered,

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

whether he had now any opinion about that day at all. But he did not make the attempt. He saw again that he was menaced by an ugly, withered, elderly woman, who was trying to destroy his reputation and his domestic peace. He shrank towards Colonel Leyland and faltered: "Madam, you must excuse me, but I had rather you did not see my wife; she is so sharp. You are most kind about my little boy; but, madam, no, she would never permit it."

"You have insulted a lady!" shouted the colonel, and made a chivalrous movement of attack. From the hall behind came exclamations of horror and expectancy. Someone ran for the manager.

Miss Raby interposed, saying: "He will never think me respectable." She looked at the dishevelled Feo, fat, perspiring, and unattractive, and smiled sadly at her own stupidity, not at his. It was useless to speak to him again; her talk had scared away his competence and his civility, and scarcely anything was left. He was hardly more human than a frightened rabbit. "Poor man," she murmured, "I have only vexed him. But I wish he would have given me the boy. And I wish he would have answered my question, if only out of pity. He does not know the sort of thing that keeps me alive." She was looking at Colonel Leyland, and so discovered that he too was discomposed. It was her peculiarity that she could only attend to the person she was speaking with, and forgot the personality of the listeners. "I have been vexing you as well: I am very silly."

"It is a little late to think about me," said Colonel Leyland grimly.

She remembered their conversation of yesterday, and understood him at once. But for him she had no careful explanation, no tender pity. Here was a man who was well born and well educated, who had all those things called advantages, who imagined himself full of insight and cultivation and knowledge of mankind. And he had proved himself to be at the exact spiritual level of the man who had no advantages, who was poor and had been made vulgar, whose early virtue had been destroyed by circum-

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

stance, whose manliness and simplicity had perished in serving the rich. If Colonel Leyland, also, believed that she was now in love with Feo, she would not exert herself to undeceive him. Nor indeed would she have found it possible.

From the darkening valley there rose up the first strong singing note of the campanile ; and she turned from the men towards it with a motion of love. But that day was not to close without the frustration of every hope. The sound inspired Feo to make conversation ; and, as the mountains reverberated, he said : " Is it not unfortunate, sir ? A gentleman went to see our fine new tower this morning ; and he believes that the land is slipping from underneath, and that it will fall. Of course it will not harm us up here."

His speech was successful. The stormy scene came to an abrupt and placid conclusion. Before they had realised it, she had taken up her *Bædeker* and left them, with no tragic gesture. In that moment of final failure, there had been vouchsafed to her a vision of herself ; and she saw that she had lived worthily. She was conscious of a triumph over experience and earthly facts, a triumph magnificent, cold, hardly human, whose existence no one but herself would ever surmise. From the view-terrace she looked down on the perishing and perishable beauty of the valley ; and, though she loved it no less, it seemed to be infinitely distant, like a valley in a star. At that moment, if kind voices had called her from the hotel, she would not have returned. " I suppose this is old age," she thought. " It's not so very dreadful."

No one did call her. Colonel Leyland would have liked to do so ; for he knew that she must be unhappy. But she had hurt him too much ; she had exposed her thoughts and desires to a man of another class. Not only she, but he himself and all their equals, were degraded by it. She had discovered their nakedness to the alien.

People came in to dress for dinner and for the concert. From the hall there pressed out a stream of excited servants, filling the lounge as an operatic chorus fills the stage, and announcing the approach of the manager. It was impos-

THE ETERNAL MOMENT

sible to pretend that nothing had happened. The scandal would be immense, and must be diminished as it best might.

Much as Colonel Leyland disliked touching people he took Feo by the arm, and then quickly raised his finger to his forehead.

"Exactly, sir," whispered the *concierge*. "Of course we understand——Oh thank you, sir, thank you very much : thank you very much indeed !"

E. M. FORSTER

THE GREAT CONSERVATIVE ¹

MR. TEMPERLEY'S *Canning* is an addition to history rather than to biography. The reader will learn much about the Holy Alliance and how it was dissolved ; and, if he follows Mr. Temperley's historical judgments, he will not go very far astray in his conception of English domestic problems. But he will not rise up with a clear and brilliant picture in his mind's eye of the man who was the J. K. Stephen of one era, and the Gladstone of the next. It seems as if we should never know Canning personally. The loss is no slight one. As often as we read *The Anti-Jacobin*, we are tantalised by the vain desire to draw near and behold the fountain of so much wit. Whenever we read one of his speeches, we want to stop to the end of the proceedings and shake his hand ; but when his voice has ceased and we look round for him, he is gone. Fox we know, and Pitt we know ; but Canning had not a Lord Holland, not even a Wilberforce or a Tomline, to make him live for posterity. When, therefore, we open a modern Life of Canning, it is always in the hope of finding at last the warm and bodily shape of this fascinating but evasive presence. Mr. Temperley has not satisfied this want. He is not an artist ; and his chapters on "Jacobin and Anti-Jacobin" and "Characteristics," though sound, have no magic touch and no composition. Neither does the man emerge as the action unfolds itself, nor are the letters well selected to display his personality. So Canning's spirit is still disembodied ; his "frustrate ghost" still hovers round the shelves that contain his own words and

¹ *George Canning*. By H. W. V. Temperley. London : Finch. 1905.

THE GREAT CONSERVATIVE

works, refusing to be shut up between the boards of a biography.

But if Mr. Temperley has not made the man emerge, he has produced the Foreign Secretary. He has a considerable command of the neglected art of telling diplomatic history well (the lack of which did so much to mar Gardiner's work). The struggle of Canning with the Holy Alliance can be read nowhere so well as in this volume. Mr. Temperley has, by arduous scholarship, mastered the material of this part of his subject; he has also a grasp of the questions at issue, an appreciation of the principles and results involved, together with a burning enthusiasm for this part of his hero's life task—an enthusiasm which reflects itself in the narrative and carries the reader along. Certainly he brings the conviction to every Liberal, and I should hope to every Englishman, that there has never since been such a Foreign Secretary, and that, in foreign affairs, all that we have since done well has been based on Canning's principles, and all that we have done ill has been where Palmerston, Disraeli, Gladstone, or Salisbury diverged from the tradition of the man who, in their happier moments, served them for a model.

The most important point for historians to note, is Mr. Temperley's account of Canning's action in 1818-9, before he was Foreign Secretary. He shows how it was Canning's solitary resistance that prevented Castlereagh from committing himself yet more deeply to the Holy Alliance than he actually did. This is particularly welcome in the face of the interesting attempt to whitewash Castlereagh which appeared in Lord Salisbury's posthumous volumes.

The freedom of Greece and of South America, and, still more decidedly, the dissolution of the Holy Alliance, which opened the path of future change to France, Italy, Austria and Germany, were largely due to Canning. The debt which the foreign world owes him is immense. But what did he do for England? He successfully opposed parliamentary reform; and he failed to pass Catholic Emancipation. Was it, in fact, the irony of fate that, in his life's work, he should unwillingly illustrate his own bitter words about his Liberal opponents, and prove "the friend of

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

every country but his own"? Did he, after all, do less for "thy interest, England" than for "thine, Peru"?¹ No. For it was he who transformed the Tory into the Conservative Party, no less certainly than it was Fox who transformed the Whig into the Liberal Party. As Fox assimilated the Whig Party to the altered conditions of the democratic era, so Canning assimilated the Anti-Jacobin Party to the conditions of the reform era. Had it not been for Fox, there would have been no Liberal Party in England; had it not been for Canning, there would have been no Conservative Party. The nineteenth century would, here as on the Continent, have been a war of the privileged against the unprivileged, of King, Lords and Commons against People. England would have had to tread the round of revolution and reaction, like every other nation in Europe. But, whereas Fox acted instinctively on his own generous, factious, Titanic impulse, when he carried off half the astonished Whigs into democracy, Canning on the other hand, when, thirty years later, he made the Tory Party take up its bed and walk, was only carrying on the real tradition of Pitt, which every Pittite except himself had long forgotten.

Just as it was necessary for Fox to remain a Whig in order to liberalize the Whigs, so it was necessary for Canning to remain a Tory in order to modernize the Tories. And a Tory Canning was, to the end of his life. It is a mistake to say that he became converted to Liberalism. He never changed any of his fundamental ideas, though in 1794 he thought the Jacobins, and in 1824 the Holy Alliance, to be the greatest danger to constitutionalism. Like Pitt, he favoured Free Trade and Catholic Emancipation; like Pitt, he would have been glad to see imitations of the old Tory constitution of England set up in foreign countries, as a hedge against despotism and democracy alike. But, all the same, he thought (differing here from his master) that the Constitution and Parliament of England ought never to undergo alteration. His political views were static, not evolutionary. He liked as much representation as there had been in the eighteenth century, but

¹ *The New Morality (Anti-Jacobin).*

THE GREAT CONSERVATIVE

no more ; as much freedom of speech as there had been then, but no more. He denied the right of public meeting except in the old well-established forms of county meetings, hustings for the electors, dinners and petitions by separate Corporations and trades. He liked the meeting of Corporations, in their corporate capacity ; but he considered open public meetings and "untold multitudes collected in a village in the North," to be dangerous and illegal. On these grounds he upheld the Peterloo Massacre and the Six Acts.¹ On the same principles he opposed the repeal of the Test Act, as tending to give Dissenters equality instead of toleration. Above all, on these principles, he opposed Parliamentary Reform.

The whole structure of his political and intellectual ideas would have collapsed if he had consented to real representation of the people in the House of Commons.² And, as there had been no change in Canning's political thought on any important subject, least of all on this, I see no reason to suppose that he would ever have given way upon it. And this leads us to the one consideration where I differ from Mr. Temperley. I think that Canning's death was one of the most fortunate things that ever happened to his country or to himself. And I think this, although I agree that we have seldom had really good foreign policy since he died. But there was, at that epoch in English history, one supreme question, far more important even than foreign affairs : the question of Parliamentary Reform. If it had been shelved, or decided wrongly, the political progress to which Canning had given the first momentum must have been stopped for want of machinery ; and the transformation of the Anti-Jacobin into the Conservative Party would not have proceeded. To complete Canning's work, it was essential that his views on parliamentary reform should be overridden. Now the position he had obtained in the State, the ardent enthusiasm with which he was regarded by the Liberals and by the man in the street, would have made it as difficult to pass a Reform Bill as long as he lived, as it was to pass Catholic Emancipation in the lifetime of George III.

¹ *Canning's Speeches*, Vol. VI, pp. 373-7.

² *Ibid.* 381-9.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

If he had lived, it is difficult to see how England could have fared as well as she has done. Either the Whigs would have brought in Reform, and Canning would have led the opposition to it: in that case the Tories would probably not have given way without raising a civil war. And if Canning had been there to attract moderate men to enlist in Wellington's regiments, it is probable they would have won such a war. Or else no Reform Bill would have appeared at all; for the coalition of Whigs and Canningites might have continued indefinitely—and Canning had already made the postponement of Reform the first condition of that alliance. Canning had fascinated half the Whigs. In their admiration for his foreign policy, they were allowing themselves to be weaned away from the great task for which Fox and Grey had prepared them—the task which they performed in 1832. It was not, perhaps, personal pique and aristocratic pride alone that made Grey object to the coalition with Canning, though these disagreeable elements were certainly not wanting. Grey was a man vastly inferior to Canning; but he was right on the great question on which Canning was wrong. And that question was then far more important than all the others put together.

Mr. Temperley's well-founded admiration of Canning has led him to under-estimate the importance of parliamentary reform. For instance, he says, speaking of the Coalition (1827): "Canning professed the better parts of both Tory and Whig creeds." Now this is not so; for the best part of the Whig creed was parliamentary reform. Grey may well have felt that a coalition with Canning would indefinitely postpone the cause which he had advocated for thirty years, and tie the future of Liberalism to the dominating and inflexible will of a great Conservative. If the Whigs had been led to forget their distinctive mission, if Reform had been permanently shelved, there would, sooner or later, have been an armed rebellion of the unrepresented classes against the House of Commons. The success of such a rebellion would have plunged us into revolutionary politics, for which our national genius is unsuited; its not improbable failure would have been

LAW AND OPINION IN ENGLAND

national death. But we were spared these dreadful alternatives ; for the death of Canning dissolved the Coalition, and led to the passage of the Reform Bill. Nothing short of that measure, which he would have opposed to the end, made it possible for us to reap the plentiful crop which he had sowed for his country's good.

Canning died when he had done his work. His work was, to establish the precedent that a loyally Conservative Minister could use England's influence in Europe on behalf of foreign constitutionalism, and against despotic and clerical influences. The might of England had re-established the Inquisition in Spain, the Austrian, the Bourbon, and the Pope in Italy, and the rule of priests, nobles, and hereditary despots in all Europe. It was owing to Canning that the English Tory Party has not continued to maintain these things which it set up. If to-day, under a Conservative Ministry, we are in friendship with the Liberal Governments of France and Italy, and not over-friendly with the military despotisms of the East, the praise is due to Canning. It was he who enabled both our Parties to have common sympathies as regards the internal affairs of foreign nations. Nothing short of genius could have accomplished this task.

G. M. TREVELYAN

LAW AND OPINION IN ENGLAND¹

IN a work which bears the above title, Professor Dicey gives the results of a series of lectures which he delivered at Harvard in 1898, and has since re-delivered at Oxford. The period of investigation is the nineteenth century. The purpose is to show the nature of the relation throughout that period between the growth of English Law and

¹ *Lectures on the relation between Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century*, by A. V. Dicey, K.C., B.C.L. London : Macmillan. 1905.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the course of English Thought. The author adopts the following division : (1) the period of old Toryism or legislative quiescence (1800-1830) ; (2) the period of Benthamism or Individualism (1825-1870) ; (3) the period of Collectivism (1865-1900).

The work begins by distinguishing between the "opinion of the governed" which is the basis of political society, and the "public opinion" which consists of views which relate to, and determine, legal reform. The former is universal ; the latter is very exceptional. All political society implies in some form the approval of the governed ; but, in order that there may be a public opinion which controls legal development, there must be a legislative organ which both represents that opinion, and is specially adapted to express it. In France and in the United States, constitutionalism has retarded legal change. In England, on the other hand, according to Professor Dicey, public opinion has exercised, for seventy-five years at least, a more direct and immediate control over legislation than it even now exerts in most other civilised countries. To the objection that in legislation everywhere men are guided, not by their opinion, but by their interests, the author replies, with admirable justice, that interests imply opinion, and that the interest of any particular man "gives a bias to his judgment far oftener than it corrupts his heart."

More controversial ground is reached in the chapter which discusses the relation of democratic progress to legal development. Democracy, it is held, may mean either a form of government or a condition of society. The explanation of legal change by reference to democratic progress is considered to be valueless if we adopt the second meaning, and false if we adopt the first. The argument which follows does not appear quite convincing. It seems to rely too much on differences between legislative theories, and too little upon the unities which may find expression in them. I would even venture to suggest, in the first place, that democracy cannot be considered as consisting exclusively in either a condition of society or a form of government. The term has received no better definition than that of government of the people, *by* the people and *for* the people.

LAW AND OPINION IN ENGLAND

But, if we take the term in this comprehensive sense, democratic progress is so rapid and conspicuous a fact in the nineteenth century as to justify an *a priori* expectation of its exercising a dominating influence in nineteenth-century legislation. The expectation, in the opinion of some investigators at least, will stand other tests. "Most of the important legislation of the nineteenth century," declares Mr. Ruegg, "has been devised with the object of ameliorating the condition of the working classes, either directly, as in the case of legislation having for its object the cheapening of food, the improvement of dwellings, the providing cheap locomotion, or indirectly, by means of enfranchising laws, enabling these classes to work out their own salvation."¹ Professor Dicey is at some pains to show the fallacy of the assumption that every democracy favours the same kinds of laws or institutions. But the chief factor in the legal development of two countries may be the same, although the actual course of legal development presents great differences. The distinction between the seed and the soil, which we make in discussing the progress of a religion, is a useful distinction in politics and legislation. Can it be doubted, by any one who regards the nineteenth century as a whole, that a distinctive unity exists in the movement which, assuming different forms at different times—Tory humanitarianism, Benthamistic individualism, egalitarianism, modern collectivism—has yet a common ground in the desire for the salvation of the masses? The curve of democratic progress has not been regular; advance has been made, now on one side, now on another; and deep purposes have assumed different forms according to the *milieu* in which they have worked. The Tories thought that salvation of the masses could be effected by beneficent regulation from above; Benthamites added to the ideal of government *for* the people that of government *by* the people. Neither were wholly self-consistent. Yet, as Professor Dicey himself points out, Tory humanitarianism led directly to modern collectivism; and Benthamite legislation "has, speaking broadly, aimed at, and in England to a great extent attained, four objects—and four objects

¹ *A Century of Law Reform*, p. 242.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

alone—the transference of political power into the hands of a class which it was supposed was large and intelligent enough to identify its own interest with the interest of the greatest number—the promotion of humanitarianism—the extension of individual liberty—the creation of adequate legal machinery for the protection of the equal rights of all citizens” (p. 184). If to-day “we are all Socialists,” the explanation is as much moral as intellectual or economic. Until the imperial reaction which marked the closing years of the nineteenth century, evidences on every hand go to show a slowly developing recognition of the claims of the many—a recognition often enough crudely expressed, but at its best implying a deepening conviction of the worth of the common life. The power of that conviction to bend institutions and ideas to its will may be seen in the High Church movement, which began by displaying a lack of sympathy with Evangelical humanitarianism, and yet became one of the most philanthropic movements of the age. In the presence of the same conviction, men have substituted for the theologian’s conception of God as a kind of Austinian sovereign, the conception of Him as an immanent Father ; women have been admitted to new spheres of responsibility and right ; history has become a record, not of dynasties, but of peoples ; and Art and Literature have learnt to see and express something of the sacredness of the mean and lowly. The advance towards democracy in the nineteenth century may not explain the forms of *legislative theory* with which men have worked ; but it is hard to believe that it has not been the chief power inspiring and controlling *legislation*. To adopt such a belief, is to throw doubt upon the existence of that close relation between legislation and public opinion upon which Professor Dicey lays such just emphasis.

One of the most interesting chapters of *Law and Opinion in England* deals with the transition from Benthamistic individualism to modern collectivism. In the view which I have just suggested, this transition would find a leading explanation in the fact that the doctrine of *laissez faire* had served its turn. The doctrine had proved an excellent weapon for the reform of the more palpable abuses of the

LAW AND OPINION IN ENGLAND

older system ; but a new era had dawned, demanding a more constructive statesmanship. New economic needs had arisen ; but, if my opinion be correct, there remained as an abiding factor the growing *consciousness* of need in all classes, the keener susceptibility to social injustices hitherto neither admitted nor felt. Professor Dicey, in the foreground of his sketch of the particular circumstances attending the transition under consideration, places Tory philanthropy and the factory movement. "Humanitarianism was the parent, if socialism was the offspring, of the factory movement ; and that movement from the first came under the guidance of the Tories." Other conditions are stated to be the change in the attitude of the working classes, who turned from Chartism to Trade-Unionism ; the modification of economic beliefs specially associated with the years 1848-1850, and expressed in *Latter-day Pamphlets*, *Tracts on Christian Socialism*, *Alton Locke*, and the *Political Economy* of John Stuart Mill ; the growth of combination in commerce ; and, finally, the introduction of household suffrage.

In discussing the subject of judicial legislation, Professor Dicey makes a curious answer to the objection that judges ought never to legislate. "To simplify the matter, let us confine our attention to the House of Lords. A case comes before the House which can only be decided by either affirming or denying the application or validity of some principle. But either affirmation or denial will equally establish a precedent, or in other words a legally binding rule or law. How, under this state of things, can the House by any possibility avoid judicial legislation ?" (p. 492). The answer, as Professor Dicey is evidently aware, hardly goes to the root of the matter. A decision of the House of Lords makes a law. But why ? The answer is, that judicial practice has accepted and acted upon the principle of the binding power of precedent. But judicial practice is not a something in the presence of which judges are helpless. It has been made, and is still being made, by judges. I take the objection to judicial legislation to-day to be, not a vain objection against judges deciding one way or another when a case comes before them, but a protest against judges bowing the knee before

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

precedent, and especially before isolated precedent. When, through being followed or by any other means, a precedent has become a basis of popular or professional practice, it may be said to possess a very important claim to be considered Law which it previously lacked. In the United States at the present moment, owing mainly to the number of the Law Reports, a tendency exists in the direction of attaching less importance to particular judgments, and more importance to principles implicit in a number of successive and not necessarily consistent judgments. Such principles may be said to be judge-made law. But they are not quite what we understand by the term in this country; and they are not, I imagine, quite what is meant by those who in our day attack judicial legislation.

The concluding chapter of the work discusses the relation between legislative opinion and public opinion in general. Evangelicalism and Benthamism, for example, are held to find common ground in individualism, whilst High Church movements which have attacked or undermined Evangelicalism "have been in the social or political sphere the conscious or unconscious allies of collectivism." Further illustration, it is suggested, may be found in the study of three of the general tendencies of modern English thought—the growth of the historical method, the disintegration of beliefs, and that apotheosis of instinct which finds so striking a characteristic in the growth of Imperialism as a "political religion."

In conclusion, a word may be said of the impression left upon one's mind by the work as a whole. "My book pretends to be nothing more than a course of lectures," we are warned in the Preface. Again: "It cannot claim to be a work of research; it is rather a work of inference or reflection." Such expressions might easily mislead students who had no previous acquaintance with Professor Dicey's workmanship. Bagehot somewhere praised the quality, so conspicuous in most good literature, of animated moderation—the union of life with measure, and spirit with reasonableness. The quality will be found in a pre-eminent degree in *Law and Opinion in England*. The reader's interest never flags; it owes nothing to exaggeration or the tricks of

A FOOLS' PARADISE

paradox; and the conclusions are the conclusions of a writer whose learning and judgment are apparent on every page. To that learning and judgment students of English Law are already deeply indebted; and their indebtedness will be very materially increased by the present volume. The work will be read by a wide and perhaps enthusiastic public; but it will prove of quite especial interest and value to those students of English Law who are anxious to view their subject in living relation to English thought and character as a whole.

W. JETHRO BROWN

A FOOLS' PARADISE¹

IN 1904 Mr. Vachell took the circulating libraries by storm with a very foolish story called *Brothers*, full of that kind of unprincipled sentimentality which is the favourite diet of the half-educated, especially when the *dramatis personae* belong to fashionable society. The first fifty pages or so of *Brothers* dealt with life at Harrow; and it seems that the popularity of those pages encouraged Mr. Vachell to believe that he was the man to write a school story. Now school stories are very difficult to write. Perhaps, as the author of *The Upton Letters* says, they are impossible; but, since Mr. Benson admits that nearly everything that ought to be done in connection with public schools is impossible, it is excusable to take his opinion a little less than seriously. However, Mr. Vachell has written *The Hill*; it has been highly praised; we have been told that it ought to be on the shelves of every public school boy and of every public school master; men who have been educated at public schools give copies of it to their friends, in order to show them how admirable the public school system is; and the pessimism of *The Upton Letters* is defeated all along the line.

¹ *The Hill*. By Horace Annesley Vachell. London: Murray. 1905.

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

This success deserves consideration. The popularity of a novel does not necessarily imply satisfaction with the state of society depicted in it, or even a belief that the picture is true to life ; but the popularity of this novel implies both. It implies that *The Hill* is a faithful picture of Harrow, and also that it is a satisfactory picture of a place of education. Of course it is not a faithful picture of Harrow. If it were, it would be necessary to send Mr. John Burns and a jury of matrons to Harrow at once, with full powers to examine witnesses on oath and to hang as many school-masters as they thought advisable ; it is just so far faithful, that it reproduces a great deal of the local colour of thirty years ago, blended with a dash of the local colour of to-day, with the result that it gives enormous pleasure to respectable elderly gentlemen whose memories of school life are as edifying and as trustworthy as those of Mr. Justice Shallow. If this were all, if *The Hill* could be considered merely as a source of amusement for bachelor uncles at the Club, it would not be worth writing about. But it claims more ; it claims, not merely to represent a great public school as it is, or as it was, but as in all essentials what it ought to be. It is a vindication ; and if it is to be taken as such by fathers and mothers, to say nothing of their offspring, as well as by the aforesaid bachelor uncles, the exact meaning of the vindication ought to be understood.

There should be no difficulty in seeing what Mr. Vachell means ; for he tells us in his introductory letter. “ Strenuousness and sentiment ” are the special features of life at The Hill ; and the story will show us why, and how, and with what results, this is the case. However, in order to develop this theme, it is necessary to have an atmosphere ; and the atmosphere provided is of particular interest. Some of it is provided by the boys, some by their parents, some by the masters, and some by all three in combination. The most striking example of the latter is naturally to be found at Lord’s, on the day of the Eton and Harrow match, when boys and masters and parents join in that great act of public worship to glorify Mr. Vachell’s favourite qualities. But, after all, the assumption that athletics are the only part of education that matters is common to all school story-books

A FOOLS' PARADISE

of any pretension ; and it is hardly fair to tax Mr. Vachell with any pre-eminence in that respect. Nor is there anything extraordinary in the behaviour of the boys as such ; their behaviour cannot be isolated for separate examination, because at school it is necessarily bound up with the behaviour of the masters. Mr. Vachell, from not observing this fact with sufficient care, is hardly fair to his boys. Perhaps it is too much to expect him to be fair to that very transpontine villain, Scaife, who had to be past praying for from the beginning ; but a good many of the imbecilities of the rest are simply due to the fact that at school they are never in contact with a sensible man. In *Brothers* Mr. Vachell gave a sympathetic sketch of a school-master—a large perturbable man, who understood his real impotence before the force of school-boy traditions, and had become content, as he says, to give public opinion a push when he saw it going right, and a pull when he saw it going wrong. Some people, “Billy” says, think that he takes his duties too lightly ; and he is good enough to admit that they may be right. *The Hill* lends no countenance to that admission. There are three school-masters in this book, not counting Mr. Damer, who only appears at House-matches. Their common field of action is *The Manor*, a house of some fifty boys. Mr. Rutford, alias “Dirty Dick,” the House-master, is a scholar, but has drunk too deep of the delight in high birth in which his pupils revel daily, and has become a sycophant ; he is unpopular accordingly, since there is no more disagreeable sight than a caricature of ourselves. He also neglects his work ; and, though he tries to make up for the rarity of his visits to the boys by coming in noiseless slippers, whereas “Billy” used to herald his approach by trumpeting, he is as useless when he is there as when he is not. Therefore the house, once the most popular in the school, is degraded by inactivity and vice. The head master knows the facts, but dares not dismiss Mr. Rutford, or give his house to someone else ; and we are to understand that this is only what is to be expected of a head master. Being, however, an ingenious if not a courageous man, he devises a plan. He persuades several patriotic Old Boys, including a Cabinet Minister, to send their young sons to

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

"The Manor," in order to raise its tone. The Cabinet Minister, to do him justice, takes some persuading ; but the others, and apparently many readers of *The Hill*, think it a most natural and admirable expedient. Unfortunately, we are not allowed to see it develope freely. Mr. Rutford gets a Scotch professorship, and is succeeded at "The Manor" by Mr. Vachell's third and most important school-master. We are not meant to admire "Dirty Dick"; the head master is beyond the judgments of ordinary morality ; but Mr. Warde is intended to win our hearts. Accordingly, after an anecdote of his dexterously turning the disapproval of the school to applause by alluding to the fact that he was once in the Eleven, we have his opening speech to the house in full. It is too long to quote ; extracts cannot do it justice ; but, on careful analysis, it will be found to contain two sensible remarks, one joke (it must be a joke that he went up a mountain with one eye on the summit and the other on a crevasse at his feet, though nobody is said to have laughed), an appeal for athletic successes coupled with a cunningly inserted allusion to a Balliol scholarship, and—*champagne all round*. The rest is the usual kind of stuff that is thought to impress boys, in which nothing is ever said straight out, but epigrammatic hints are cast at them, which nine-tenths do not understand, and the other tenth, knowing that they mean cowardice, do not respect. However, there was no doubt about the champagne, in spite of Scaife, who was rude enough to call it gooseberry. There is really nothing more to be said of Mr. Vachell's model house-master, except that the rest of his life is spent according to this beginning ; and that he becomes as kindly, as inefficient, and on occasion as tearful a gentleman, as could be found within the covers of *The School-master's Year Book*.

However, it may be argued that school-masters are but a means to an end : and that, if their incompetence leads the boys to find out for themselves how to educate themselves, nobody need complain. One might even go further, and say that if the faults in the education which the boys invent for themselves are such as no man, however wise, could eradicate, it is just as well to be spared the sight of wise men trying to eradicate them. The drinking

A FOOLS' PARADISE

scene in Mr. Vachell's third chapter may be left out of consideration ; most people would admit that he has in that scene forced the note for his own romantic purposes, in order to get the proper relations between Scaife, John Verney, and Desmond. Still, it is not much worse for Scaife to experiment with raw whisky than for Desmond and Egerton and Verney and all the rest to gormandize day after day at "The Creameries" ; and yet that is considered one of the most educational things in a school-boy's life. But, at the end of this chapter, there is a passage which contains in a few words the whole philosophy of the system ; it is the passage in which Lawrence, the head of the house—"a tower of strength, like all the Lawrences," the head master calls him—tells John Verney that he knows "every blessed—and *cursed* thing that goes on in this house." So Warde later says : "I know all about your co-operative system of work" ; so the head master knows all about the state of Rutford's house, and the cause of it. But to none of them, head master, house-master, or head boy, does the idea of acting upon this knowledge ever come. It is a singular state of mind to connect with "all the Lawrences," at any rate.

This happy-go-lucky life, in which those who know do not act, and those who act do not know, is presented to us as the best kind of education, the kind of education that men stint themselves to give their sons. It may be ; it may be that Mr. Vachell is right, that *The Hill* is both a true picture, and a delectable ; and yet—and yet I cannot help wondering what would happen if even these half-hearted gentlemen of his lived among their boys, instead of in a carefully isolated "private side," from which it is a point of honour not to emerge without due notice ; if the master, for example, dined regularly with the boys, instead of the boys now and then dining with the master ; if he could somehow get on such terms with them that he might say what he thought a little oftener, and act upon what he thought a great deal oftener—if, in short, the relationship between master and pupil could be a little more like the relationship between a man and a boy, and less like the relationship between Zeus (generally dining with the blame-

THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

less Ethiopians when he was wanted elsewhere) and the Greeks of the Homeric age. What would happen? Is it possible that a few things would be better? Is it possible that even a society composed principally of spoilt children might get a glimpse of the proportions of life, that they might play games without thinking nothing else worth doing, and learn the value of breeding without becoming such dreadful little snobs; that their morals might be a little less medieval, and their manners a little more civilized? Might not John Verney have been glad to see his mother at the school concert, even before he knew that she had put on a dress from Paris in his honour? Might we not have been spared that very hypocritical performance of the two Sixth Form boys, who treated Beaumont-Greene as a reprobate because he, being no athlete, had attempted to imitate the vices of his superiors? But such speculations are idle; *The Hill* does not describe a place of education.

R. F. CHOLMELEY

**** It is desirable that no contributions should be sent without previous communications with the Editor, who cannot undertake to return unsolicited MSS.*

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